NEW MASSES

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by the Editors

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by EARL BROWDER

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HERE I

Dear Reader:

We waited—impatiently, I admit—until Labor Day passed before writing you. Vacation days, what there were of them this fateful summer, are over and all our readers are back at their busy posts. The business before us is victory. And that's big business.

Each of us has his job cut out for him. It is to do everything—everything, I submit—to guarantee the last chapter of this war. That guarantee rests upon total understanding, and consequent action, of all the intricate turns of the war. It means full recognition of the paralyzing menace of a long war. It means checkmating the plans of evil men to delay maximum action at the fronts—the combination of a land invasion of the continent with the onrush of the superb Red Armies. It requires full understanding that our national interests are imperilled by dragged-out, inconclusive military deeds. It means total awareness of political tricksters' plans to dog the administration with chaos and confusion at home so that the second front is interminably delayed, until Hitler and his collaborators abroad can patch together a negotiated peace. Moves and counter-moves toward these ends are reflected in the press daily; and unless these factors are recognized, and understood, and acted upon, swiftly, tirelessly, unremittingly, we can see the fruits of victory snatched from us and our children.

To explain these moves and counter-moves is New Masses' job in this war. We are dedicated to the great responsibility of clarity. No small responsibility. And we spend every waking hour to that purpose. The support the magazine has received, particularly this past year, indicates that NM's readers are aware of our task, and by and large endorse it. By and large, I say. Not overwhelmingly. And that is the purpose of this letter.

I mean this: we cannot be satisfied with the numbers of Americans reading our—your—magazine. We could not be satisfied even if the numbers doubled. But let us start with first things first. If you agree with what we say, if you agree with what we say has to be done, even if you do much of what we all agree must be done, you cannot be satisfied either. The fact is that not enough Americans are doing enough. Not enough of our friends, our neighbors, our fellow-citizens are pulling their weight. Not enough Congressmen have been told, unmistakably, what the people want. In brief, the President has not received the full weight of his support. The Gallup polls underscore that. There is too much over-confidence, too much lassitude, too much "Let-George-Do-It" in the country. Why? Because the people haven't been aroused. Why? Because the organs which supply them information and a way of action have not clarified the issues as they need to be clarified. Too many of these organs are in the hands of sinister men, or self-satisfied men, or just plain business-men who think victory's in the bag and are therefore returning to pre-war attitudes and prejudices.

Here is where New Masses comes in. This magazine is a weapon. Use it. Wield its ideas as you would a sword in battle. If you alone read it, and let it go at that, the weapon is used only part-time. We want it used full-time. Totally. This is a total war and you must make use of every weapon for victory. We submit, New Masses is such a weapon.

For these reasons we propose the following: that every regular reader of New Masses get a new

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A WEAPON!

subscriber. Is that too much to ask? We believe not. First of all it would double our reading public; it would bring clarity to that many more soldiers on the civilian front; it mounts up to action, the crucial decisive action that history requires today.

Second, it guarantees the existence of this weapon. Let me be more specific. Each year this magazine must raise a certain sizeable sum to make ends meet, to see the fiscal year through. Last year it was $40,000. This year it is the same amount. That means a long, hard pull, wearing on our nerves, certainly not restful to yours. But wear-and-tear on our nerves is a secondary matter. The primary factor is the uncertainty for too long a period whether New Masses will pull through. That uncertainty raises hell with plans and editorial projects. It is too risky, this dependence upon a financial drive to guarantee NM's existence.

If we had a stable circulation, say, of twice our number of subscribers, the financial drive would fade into a secondary consideration. We could reduce the amount needed to half; and in time we would totally dispense with these harrowing financial drives. It all depends upon a good, fat list of subscriptions. That would enable us to cut expenses. This way: publications dependent upon newsstand readers must print twice the number of copies over the number finally sold. There is always at least a 50% return of unsold copies in newsstand circulation. If our newsstand circulation were transformed into subscriptions, we would save thousands of copies of NM. Paper, an increasingly scarce war commodity, would be saved. Furthermore, we would save on cost of paper, on cost of printing. That would be a substantial amount, rest assured.

All in all, the solution to NM's financial burdens lies in the word "subscription." And we hope to make that word an important one in your vocabulary. We hereby institute a drive for 5,000 new subscriptions by January 1, 1944. Is that too much to ask? We can assure you that if every subscriber got only one sub each by New Year's Day we would have many times more than 5,000 new subscribers. We would cut the total needed in our annual financial drive drastically; we would guarantee NM's existence.

We plead with you, after you read this, to sit down and draw up a list of relatives, friends, office-mates, acquaintances, and go after them to become subscribers to NM. The cost of subscribing is not prohibitive; it is cheaper than buying on newsstands.

But it is expensive NOT to read New Masses. Not to disseminate its ideas, to get enough people to act upon these ideas, is to wage part-time warfare. Which means defeat. That is the issue. It will be infinitely more expensive, in terms of life, security and happiness, if you decide to do nothing about it; if you let things slide, and permit the ideas of the enemy to seize our people.

We write this on the assumption that you are an all-out soldier in an all-out war. Which means you are ready to undertake every detail which helps to win. We are not assuming too much, I know. Nor are we asking too much. We are asking you to get another subscriber, that's all. But it's a lot: it means another all-out soldier in this all-out war. One more and one more . . . and finally you get an army which can never be licked.

JOSEPH NORTH.

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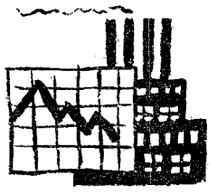
NM SPOTLIGHT

That Falling Production



THE collapse of production at the Lockland plant of the Wright Aeronautical Corp., where output of plane engines dropped eighty-five percent between March and August, is a glaring example of shortcomings in our war production. Of course the general picture is not nearly so bad as at the Lockland plant. But it is a serious mistake to pretend, as some do, that by and large everything is going fine and the Wright case is simply an unfortunate exception. It is equally mistaken to take the view that the New York *Times* has so laboriously promoted—that the Lockland scandal results from the "interference" of government agencies, in this case the Senate Truman committee and a special Army board under Lt. Gen. William S. Knudsen. The *Times* would have us conclude that industry must be on guard against further efforts on the government's part to plug the holes in our war production effort.

Attempts to draw attention from the true picture are made in the face of repeated statements by the highest authorities that war production is *not* increasing at the rate necessary to furnish our own and our Allies' fighting forces with the materials needed to win the war. Donald Nelson, C. E. Wilson, General Somervell, and the War and Navy Departments have given us the facts. The Office of War Information told us in June that 1942 production had fallen twenty-five percent below goals which had already been drastically revised downwards. Undersecretary of War Patterson informed us in June that May output for the ground forces, scheduled to exceed April by two percent, actually fell by three and one-half percent. In July Donald Nelson stated that June production was $500,000,000 behind schedule. He now informs us that munitions output in July was up only three percent over June, just half the increase that had been scheduled.

THERE are various reasons for the failure to maintain production schedules. Only in exceptional cases are they explained by the woeful inefficiency exposed at the Wright Lockland plant. More generally the blame must be placed on the continued failure to undertake over-all planning of manpower and production, the failure to develop a complete, centralized war economy. It was hoped that James Byrnes of the Office of War Mobilization would do the job, but he hasn't. He has pretty much confined his activities to straightening out petty feuds. The fact that we are still only ankle-deep in the war, that we are not yet engaging the enemy on a large scale, also inevitably affects the morale of both workers and management. Third, the sentiment carefully nourished by half-hearted business-as-usual elements that the war is in the bag and that we can now turn our attention to the reconversion of industry to civilian production must also share the blame. The facts are plain. The remedy lies in effective, over-all planning and it lies in the immediate opening of the second front in Europe.

No Time for Caucuses

ONE million strong—that is the number of production soldiers enrolled in that great army of labor, the United Automobile Workers of America (CIO). The performance of its membership, stationed at the crucial parapets of our industrial battle-line, has brought it merited honor. The union's voice is rightly one of the most powerful in labor as well as on the national political scene. For these reasons all patriotic Americans, cognizant of the decisive place labor occupies in this war, will regret that the word "caucus" has crept into the affairs of the auto workers. For divided counsel is as fatal to unions as it is to armies.

We read that Richard T. Leonard, with the support of the "Reuther-Leonard caucus," will oppose George Addes for the post of secretary-treasurer at the coming convention of the union. This is bad news. Bad for a number of reasons. If ever there was a time for a demonstration of complete unity within labor's ranks, or any section of it, that time is now. Second, Mr. Addes has, since the union's birth, been one of the chief lieutenants of that great army. He helped it grow from a few thousand members to its present power. He has proved himself a leader of acumen as well as a citizen of outstanding patriotism. His voice was often heard in support of the administration's policies and of Philip Murray, president of the CIO, when others in his union faltered. He has combated the efforts of dubious groupings in the UAW, those whose leadership derives from the counsels of John L. Lewis, Norman Thomas, the Trotskyites, or the Klan, to subvert the no-strike policy, to buck the win-the-war policies of their Commander-in-Chief. These latter elements, for purposes of their own dirty work, have sought to "smear" Mr. Addes with the contention that he is "Communist-dominated." And it is sad to see that the "Reuther-Leonard caucus" reflects this: the only ammunition they bring up in their campaign against Mr. Addes is that he is "under the influence of the Communists."

There is certainly no room in this great progressive union for the unsavory red herring; nor any form of factionalism, whether of the Reuther-Leonard stripe or of one that might be formed by those against whom they are gunning. The need is to reject firmly any temptation toward factionalism; for an atmosphere of partisan, unprincipled strife is precisely what the enemies of the union and of the war effort seek to induce. And it is particularly unfortunate that this union has more than its share of unprincipled grouplets who derive their policies from John L. Lewis and his ilk.

Unfortunately some of these, calling themselves supporters of Mr. Addes, have projected "lily white slates" in a move to exclude Negro delegates to the convention. This obviously is a sop to Klan influences and is a most serious development. Considering Mr. Addes' record, all honest unionists look to him to repudiate these moves; for there can be no unity, no growth in influence and membership, if concessions are made to the shady elements who have attached themselves to one or another officer in order to subvert his leadership. The UAW has played a magnificent role in this war: it has a great responsibility to carry on, and it will if these efforts at unprincipled strife are squelched immediately.

The Streicher Way

THOSE who have carefully followed the career of John L. Lewis know his penchant for the way of a fuehrer; they may be surprised, however, that he has come to identify himself openly with the device of *Judenhasse*. Progressive workers at the Remington-Rand plant in Syracuse, N. Y., rubbed their eyes

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the other day when they were handed leaflets issued by Lewis' District 50, currently engaged in an effort to undermine the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, CIO, in connection with a collective bargaining election scheduled at the plant within a month.

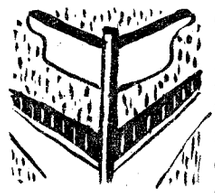
The leaflet could well have been struck off by Julius Streicher's printing house, notorious the world over for its barbaric diatribes against Jewry. Lewis' men drew the customary caricature of the Jew—customary in the Third Reich—reading from a journal which might have been titled "The Protocols of Zion." This time, however, the title was "How to Confuse Workers"—by "UE-CIO." And it carried customary, threadbare Red-baiting.

However, before Lewis attempts to disclaim this scandal by contending it was only a "local" phenomenon, labor observers point to the national policy of the Lewis UMW leadership. It so happens that the *United Mine Workers Journal* has long been industriously engaged in spreading anti-Semitism. So much so that it has begun to alarm the *Jewish Daily Forward*, one of Lewis' staunchest supporters. After all, it is somewhat risky for the *Forward* editors to be associated with a movement which would cut the throats of all their readers—and perhaps some of their top bosses. So they have called upon Lewis to repudiate the *Journal's* editor—K. C. Jones. But K. C. Jones is only following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Ellis Searles, who was a sponsor of the notorious anti-Semitic book *Communism in Germany*. His associates were such worthies as Harry A. Jung, Archibald Stevenson, Ralph M. Easley, and Hamilton Fish. The book, published in Germany, was shipped here by the boatload and distributed by native fascist organizations.

The *UMW Journal's* anti-Semitism follows a classic pattern, along the lines of Coughlin's *Social Justice*, rather than the more blatant Fuehrer Joe McWilliams type. The trick is to smear through association, rather than to say the dirty words outright. Whenever "international bankers" are excoriated, such names as Kuhn, Loeb & Co., or Alfred Lowenstein, or Henry Morgenthau are sort of accidentally thrown in for illustration. When the President's labor policy is attacked, such names as Sidney Hillman and Anna Rosenberg are singled out. It's an ancient device, one well known to the fancier purveyors of Hitler's Jew-hatred.

Labor observers will realize, however, that the *Forward's* plaint, drawing Lewis' "attention" to his *Journal's* anti-Semitism, is something less than straightforward. They know very well that the fuehrer of the coal miners' union would not permit one word to be printed which he did not approve. They remember his daughter's name on America First stationery—it was spelled K-A-T-H-R-Y-N—but it meant John L.

Struggle in the ALP



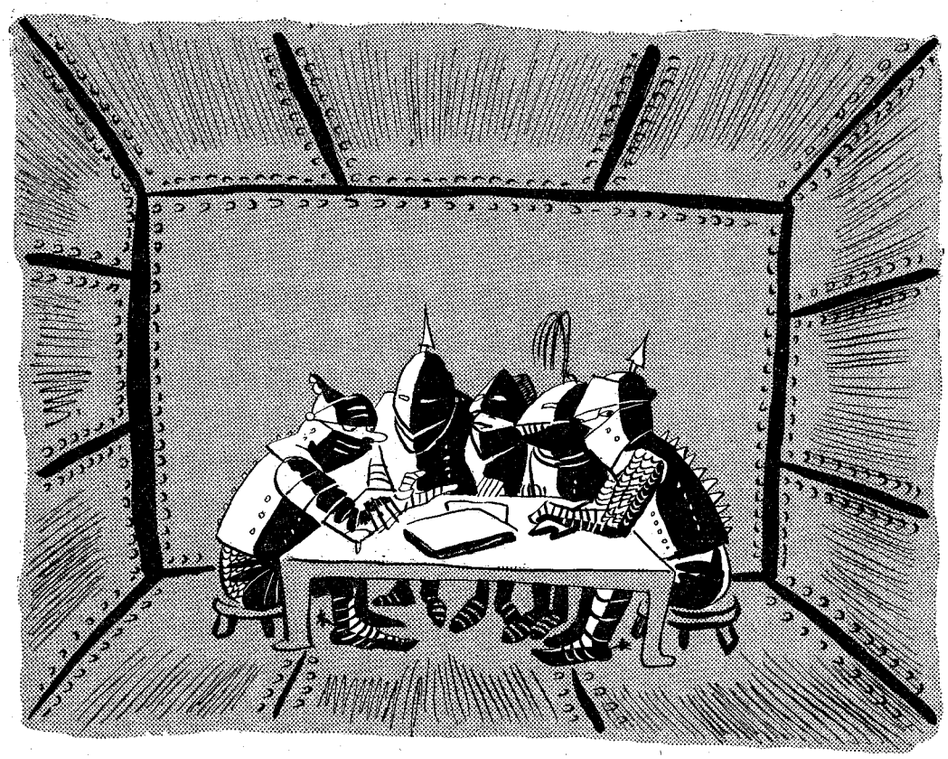
THE question of the American Labor Party's future affects the political future of the entire country. In the largest state in the Union, the ALP holds the balance of power. It can be decisive in determining the role that New York plays in the 1944 election and in the political battles that precede it. It should, therefore, be self-evident that the division within the ALP is no mere local factional feud, but a struggle that concerns all Americans.

It is, for example, of concern to the members of all political parties, as well as to citizens of no political affiliation, that a minority in the largest county organization of the ALP, Kings County (Brooklyn), has attacked one of the institutions of American democracy, the direct primary system, by attempting to cancel the vote of the membership in the August 10 primaries and to foist on them officials and policies which the majority had repudiated. If this right wing minority is able to get away with it in the ALP, there is no reason why similar minorities should not try the same thing in the Republican and Democratic Parties. This is to embrace the political methods of the fascist governments against which our country is waging war.

That is why, as we pointed out last week, we feel it is the elementary duty of all honest liberals and progressives, no matter what their position on the issues that have divided the ALP, to support all steps, including resort to the courts, to ensure that the progressive county executive committee, headed by John Crawford and Max Torchin, is legally recognized.

How false and ridiculous is the cry of "Communist plot," by which the Dubinskys and Antoninis have sought to perpetuate minority rule, is now revealed by the campaign they have launched against the proposal of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, that the ALP be restored to trade union control with all unions invited to affiliate. This proposal, which has been endorsed by the progressives and by the New York state CIO, has infuriated the Old Guard because it would mean *broadening* and *democratizing* the party, loosening the death-grip of the present leadership, dominated by a tight clique of Social Democrats obsessed with hatred for our Soviet ally.

The desperation of this cabal is indicated in an editorial published in Dubinsky's organ, *Justice*, and inserted as an advertisement in the New York *Times*. This falsely charges that the Hillman proposal



The Bulgarian Committee of Regents holds its first meeting.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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"would mean the elimination from the party's government of the large liberal and progressive element which is not affiliated to any labor unions." That in a broadened and democratized American Labor Party there would be no room for Eugene Lyons and other such "liberal" and "progressive" favorites of the anti-Semitic fuehrer, Gerald L. K. Smith, goes without saying. But such a party would once more provide a voice for the many thousands of genuine liberals and progressives who have either been gagged or hounded out by those who are cheek by jowl, politically speaking, with John L. Lewis and the ex-fascist, Generoso Pope. And such a party would give to the policies of our Commander-in-Chief something more than verbal nosegays.

Too Many Candidates

L'AFFAIRE Aurelio has its tragic and comic aspects, but for the average voter it bids fair to provide little more than a bewildering multiplication of candidates for Justice of the Supreme Court in New York's First Judicial District. And some people might wonder how many more Aurelios would be uncovered if the proper wires could be tapped thoroughly and impartially.

Right now there are two candidates for the Supreme Court job, plus Aurelio himself. The latter is challenging in the courts the right of the Republican and Democratic Parties to withdraw their nomination of him. And the irony of it is that despite Aurelio's practical admission that he sought the aid of the underworld character Frank Costello in securing the Democratic designation, he may get elected because his opposition is divided. The Republicans have nominated George Frankenthaler and the right wing leaders of the American Labor Party have chosen Matthew M. Levy, who has also received the Democratic designation. The ALP Old Guard ignored the proposals of the Progressives, who objected to Levy because of his truculent Red-baiting. Nor is the right wing position strengthened by their attempts to smear the Progressives for having supported the nomination of Aurelio before his connection with Costello was known. For it turns out that Costello's attorney is flesh of the right wing flesh, none other than that "liberal" luminary, Morris Ernst.

Meanwhile, let us not forget that there are more important matters before the voters than the choice of a Supreme Court judge. They have a lieutenant governor to elect. The Republicans are trying to use the Aurelio scandal to advance the fortunes of their candidate, State Senator Joe R. Hanley, as against the win-the-war Democratic and ALP nominee, Lt. Gen. William N. Haskell. The election of Hanley could easily provide a stepping-stone for the political ambitions of Gov. Tom Dewey.

Toward Jewish Unity

THE American Jewish Conference, which held its sessions in New York last week, was undoubtedly the most important gathering of its kind in more than a generation. Bringing together the representatives of Jews of various classes, political and religious tendencies, the conference marked an important step toward complete unity of America's 5,000,000 Jews.

In a number of its decisions the conference lived up to its great responsibilities. What it had to say, for example, on the subject of immediate measures to rescue Europe's tormented Jews introduced clarity into a question about which there has been a good deal of dangerously wishful thinking. Proposals which had been made in recent months for negotiations with Axis satellite governments were wisely avoided. Instead, a six-point program was adopted covering such matters as the provision of asylum for refugees in the United Nations, in Palestine, and in neutral countries, and the setting up of an inter-governmental agency to cooperate with Jewish organizations in extending underground rescue work.

The two principal weaknesses of the conference were its failure to deal with the immediate problems of winning the war and its exclusion of important sections of American Jewry. On the whole, the conference was too preoccupied with postwar questions. While it adopted excellent resolutions calling for an international Bill of Rights and the outlawing of anti-Semitism nationally and internationally after the war, it took no action on the ominous anti-Semitic trends in our country today. And in considering measures to rescue the European Jews, it failed to mention the most fundamental of them all: the second front. A Western invasion by American and British troops during the next weeks is, in fact, the only effective way to win the war quickly and save the 3,000,000 Jews who have thus far survived the Nazis.

THE resolution on Palestine also suffered from the fact that it did not deal with the problem of mobilizing that country's human and economic resources for the war, but devoted itself largely to the demand that Palestine be constituted a Jewish Commonwealth after the war. This resolution, moreover, tended to narrow the authority of the conference since it reflected the views of a single, even if substantial, party, the Zionists. For while practically all American Jews are united in their desire to support the Jewish community in Palestine, large numbers of them do not agree with the specific Zionist aim of a Jewish state. The conference further limited its authoritative character by failing to make any official acknowledgement of the role of the 5,000,000 Jews heroically fighting Hitler in the Soviet Union. Certainly, the enthusiastic welcome which the great Soviet Jewish actor, Prof. Solomon Michoels, and the Yiddish poet, Lt. Col. Itzik Feffer, have received from all sections of the Jewish population in this country, shows that American Jews are not indifferent to that role.

These shortcomings might have been mitigated had there been adequate representation for hundreds of thousands of Jewish trade unionists and advanced middle class elements. Unfortunately, the exclusion of such large and influential organizations as the Jewish People's Committee and the Jewish section of the International Workers Order impaired both the unity and the work of the conference. Despite the fact that many conservative rabbis and other Jewish leaders favored their inclusion, and despite the presentation by those two organizations of petitions with 85,000 signatures, these groups were banned at the insistence of disruptive Social Democrats and certain reactionary Zionists. The continuations committee of the conference would do well to reconsider this decision and to act in the spirit of that all-inclusive unity which at its opening sessions was urged on the conference by three of its outstanding leaders, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, Henry Monsky, head of B'nai B'rith, and Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, chairman of the American Jewish Committee.

Strange Generosity

TOTALLY impervious to the sweeping currents within the democratic world for an enduring peace after the complete rout of the enemy, the Pope beckons us to lay down our arms now and bend the knee in humility before the makers of this war. His words will cheer only those who seek an "impartial" spokesman to save them from impending disaster. They will comfort none among the millions who in protection of their freedom of conscience, their convictions of equality and justice and brotherhood, are prepared to give their lives. The Pope asks us to be "generous." Generous with whom? With the maligners of his coreligionists in Germany? With the brutes who raped children and murdered them in the streets of Orel and Warsaw? With the Attilas who

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showered death on the cities of England and blasted its cathedrals filled with worshippers? We heard no such plea for magnanimity from the Vatican when the Hitlerites were marauding the Belgian countryside and then descended on France. Nor was there Papal intervention on behalf of Spaniards, believers and non-believers, whom Franco put on the rack because of their abiding sense of freedom and independence. And now he implores us to extend the hand of compromise to those who have betrayed their nation's honor and with whom it is impossible to live in security and peace. He asks in effect that the Danes cease resisting, that the French show no determination before the Nazi tyranny, that we compromise everything for which countless people have shed their blood. It is no wonder that the Pope's appeal has already won the plaudits of a notorious appeaser-pacifist, Frederick J. Libby.

If the Pope spoke for the senile Marshal Badoglio on the eve of Allied advances into the Italian mainland, the terms are still unconditional surrender. Does the Pope fear that Italy will regain its honor without Badoglio? Through the five-party coalition the Italian people have already expressed their disillusionment with Badoglio and insisted on his ouster. They have expressed their devotion to the cause of the United Nations and the confusing Papal admonitions will not sit well with them. Vatican diplomacy can either adjust itself to the times or run the risk of repudiation among large sections of Catholics who profoundly believe in the four freedoms and help man the battlefronts in their defense. They have made their choice and it has not been the cult of cruelty and death and darkness.

Mr. Lippmann's Thesis

WALTER LIPPMANN deserves credit for recognizing the importance of Earl Browder's speech on the second front and the future of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition and devoting a column to it. But the argument in his September 4 column is hardly worthy of one who on other issues has shown such an admirable grasp of realities. Mr. Lippmann is perhaps unaware that whereas he appears to be defending the American and British High Commands against Mr. Browder's criticism, he is actually rejecting the basic strategy of the United Nations. For he has developed a thesis that the decisive Allied blow should be against the underbelly of Europe, with the eventual second front serving as a mere auxiliary operation. This is to place all accepted strategic conceptions on their head. For some two years—and for that matter, for years prior to that—the two-front war through a simultaneous assault from the east and west has been regarded as the key to the defeat of Nazi Germany. Nothing that has been said by any responsible military spokesman or by President Roosevelt or Prime Minister Churchill has indicated that this strategy has been abandoned. What Mr. Browder criticizes is the unnecessary delay in applying it.

Mr. Lippmann is likewise in error when he says that the actual choice was "whether to attack this year where we had the forces for attack, or to spend the year without fighting while we prepared for a cross-Channel invasion." Apart from the fact that all of the American and a large part of the British forces had to be transported thousands of miles to the Mediterranean with their equipment, the heaviest concentration of Allied troops today is not in that area at all. It is in England where some two or three million soldiers are, in Mr. Browder's apt phrase, "rusting from lack of action." Neither Mr. Browder nor anybody else is proposing the abandonment of the attack from the south. What they urge is an understanding that the great victories on the Eastern Front and in the Mediterranean create an unparalleled opportunity to crush the Nazi military machine this year by an assault from the West.

Mr. Lippmann, on the other hand, proposes that we confine ourselves to peripheral warfare, to a slow attrition strategy that can only prolong the war, compound its cost in blood and treasure, and increase the danger of a negotiated peace. He is as wrong in this as he was, earlier in the war, in his faith in sea power and later in the air-power-alone theories of Seversky—views which he has since greatly modified though not entirely discarded. It is a pity that Mr. Lippmann, who in his book *US Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*, argues so cogently for a nuclear alliance of the United States, Britain, and Russia as essential for our security, does not realize that true coalition warfare is the very heart and core of such an alliance. And it is a pity that he, who has dealt such effective blows against the reactionary double-talkers responsible for our government's French policy, is unable to recognize these same forces in the influence they exert in holding up the second front.

On the Italian Boot

THE very cautious attack on the Italian toe has already netted the British Eighth Army a strong beachhead. Except for difficulties of terrain, resistance has been poor and the campaign in its immediate stages should proceed with relative ease. The Nazis seem to be waiting for the Allied plan of operations to unfold before giving serious battle. But one thing is certain. Hitler will not be able to do for Badoglio what he could not do for Mussolini. The bulk of his forces are pinned down in the East and his whole defense of the peninsula must be predicated on delaying Allied advances by maneuvering the handful of Wehrmacht divisions. It is expected that the hardest fighting will come in the north along the Po although some military commentators are of the opinion that this line cannot be long sustained and that the Nazis will depend on the Alps as a natural barrier against Allied progress. At this writing American arms have not as yet entered the contest. It would not surprise us, however, if in the next days there are landings on the shank of the boot or at its knee. These moves would further reduce Italian and German maneuverability. At any rate it is not unrealistic to anticipate that large scale offensives against Europe's underbelly are in the making. That much could be concluded from Mr. Churchill's special remarks about Yugoslavia and Greece in his Quebec speech and from the announcement that staff officers of the Allied Middle East Command have conferred with guerrilla leaders there.

While the landing in Italy is *not* the long overdue second front because it does not come to grips with large bodies of the Wehrmacht on the continent, it will unquestionably have profound political reverberations in southeastern Europe. Satellite jitters are mounting and the Allies have an opportunity to smooth their way by working with such people's forces as the Yugoslav Liberation Army and the Italian five-party coalition. Impending is a critical test of whether we will collaborate with our friends or disregard their offers to help. AMG, for example, is far from satisfactory. It was a doubtful makeshift in Sicily but on the Italian mainland itself it can only arouse the deepest distrust and resentment.

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COALITION CROSSROADS

By the Editors

MR. CHURCHILL'S Quebec speech has had a lukewarm reception. Not only here but in London as well. The temper of the response was perhaps summed up in the headlines of some British papers. Since news of fresh Soviet victories had come simultaneously with the text of the Prime Minister's remarks, these headlines read in essence "While Churchill talks Stalin acts." For what Mr Churchill was propounding was sympomatic of the sad impasse reached by the Western Allies. In truth he had nothing to say because at that point he had nothing to offer by way of really solving the coalition's crisis.

We had a right to expect that Mr. Churchill, vigorous leader that he is, would offer action now instead of glossing over the paramount issue with praise for Marshal Stalin. Instead he reiterated the excuses no longer acceptable because they have no basis in fact. He said that the British once had a front in France but that it was ripped to shreds by the Wehrmacht and that such an undertaking must not be repeated until its success was guaranteed. All this rests on the lame assumption that the Nazi army of 1940 has not deteriorated and is the same army operating today. Even an uninformed civilian who has never seen the inside of West Point or Sandhurst knows that the Wehrmacht is a shadow of its past. And if the otherwise able high command in Britain has such limited faith in its forces after their scintillating performances, along with our troops, in Africa, Sicily, and now on the Italian toe, then we, nevertheless, have complete confidence in these campaigners and so has the average Britisher.

This alone may account for the tepidness with which Mr. Churchill's speech was received. But there is more. None of his listeners expected that he would tell them when the Allied armies would move across the Channel. We fully respect the need for secrecy. But certainly after his fulsome greeting to the Red Army, he could trust its leaders sufficiently to tell them of the moment of attack. But that apparently has not happened, because it would seem that decisions for an immediate invasion have not been made and that they may have been indefinitely postponed—at a cost that will "squander" more lives than necessary. And again, if the Red Army has earned the right to criticize its allies, as Mr. Churchill put it, it would also seem that here and in England influential men feel that they have earned the right to disregard such criticism. And in disregarding what the Soviet high command urges and what the two other components of the alliance had agreed to do in 1942, a state of affairs has been reached which, if it continues without a change for the better, will finally end in a fiasco.

If no "political considerations of any kind" to hurry a second front will be countenanced, then the hope must also be expressed that there will be no political considerations of any kind to delay a second front. But if there are, the storm signals must be hoisted to the skies. At stake is the reconstruction of the world whose future shape will be determined more by what is done now in shortening the war than by almost anything else. This is not only a problem involving morals and morale but is the binding element of the coalition and the guarantee of its stability. If we fail to shorten the war, the coalition becomes putty in the hands of evil creatures.

AS EARL BROWDER defined it last week, we are at the crossroads. Not only was his address a telling and perceptive brief on the current course of world affairs but it was a measured warning to the nation to think hard and think quickly. "Either the leading coalition of the United Nations," he said, "is going to be consolidated for victory and the postwar reorganization of the world, or it is going to deteriorate sharply and thus place dark question marks over both victory and the perspectives of the postwar world. The events which unfold from the Quebec decisions will show us which way we have taken."

The question is thus put with utmost succinctness. The choices are limited; limited to two. Either the war is prolonged because some people imagine that this is how to beat the Nazis at bargain store prices or it is shortened not only to save lives but prevent the perils of a compromise peace. "Nothing ends Nazism," insisted Browder, "except military occupation by fighting armies. All else is auxiliary, is peripheral warfare." With this simple military axiom we can measure the value of the lend-lease that has been convoyed to the Soviet Union. It has unquestionably helped but it is far from decisive—as Mr. Churchill was quick to acknowledge. Yet there are commentators who salve their consciences by repeatedly pointing to shipments of goods to Murmansk and Iran. This, of course, is again the conception of warfare by lend-lease agreements. While American aid to the Red Army has helped the Russians (and thereby helped us) it cannot be considered at all a substitute for a second front. Nor can riding the rim of Axis defenses, or blows from the clouds, do what is obviously required. All these affect the enemy's supplies and harass his outposts, but do not come to direct grips with him. And it is only by locking with the main bodies of the Nazi armies that a crushing defeat will be inflicted. "Without the second front in western Europe," Browder emphasized, "that will engage a considerable fraction of Hitler's total armed forces, there does not exist serious coalition warfare."

And it is on joint military enterprise that the future of the coalition rests. Without it the grand alliance will limp along regulated, says Browder, "on the 'principle' advocated by William C. Bullitt of the 'carrot and the club.' . . . It is a relationship that is tolerable only as something not so bad as the complete dissolution of the coalition." And it is the United States which would be injured most from the coalition's decline because her interests in an ordered world depend "in the last analysis upon close friendship and collaboration between the two most powerful countries in the world, our own country and the Soviet Union. . . . We should finally understand that we must meet the Soviet Union halfway, as equals, if we want such a close and enduring alliance. . . . It is an illusion to think that we can come closer to Britain by weakening our relations with the Soviet Union. . . . When we take a course which tends to separate us from our Soviet ally, we are at the same time destroying the foundations for all world order, we are taking the path of a new isolationism."

If affairs are at the crisis stage they are far from lost. And it is the serious responsibility of all Americans to act so that a turn for the better can be made. It is Browder's conclusion that the President cannot defeat the reactionaries by himself "without the participation of the masses in the fight. . . . We are in this war to the end with the Commander-in-Chief, we have no prospect of getting a better one, but could easily get a worse. The sooner we adjust ourselves to this reality the better it will be for the prospects of victory."

Let there be then a thunder of voices for a second front. Let there be letters and telegrams, visits to congressmen, mountains of resolutions from the trade unions. No one can rest the night comfortably until we have cut through the barbed wire of western Europe and hammered the enemy into oblivion.

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AROUND THE WORLD

PUERTO RICAN FERMENT

In Puerto Rico the independence movement is developing in swift strides. The Pro-Independence Congress held in San Juan on August 15, and attended during the course of the day by 20,000 people, marks the high point of the movement to date. The Congress revealed (1) a significant broadening of the organized effort to achieve independence; (2) an understanding of the relation of independence to the war against the Axis; (3) an appreciation of the economic aspects of Puerto Rican sovereignty; and (4) an attitude of friendliness to the progressive and democratic forces within America.

There were 1,833 official delegates at the Pro-Independence Congress, representing eighty-five towns and municipalities from every corner of the Island. No one political group nor any single organization dominated the meeting. On the contrary, the atmosphere was completely non-partisan. Among the prominent individuals who participated as official delegates, for instance, were Sen. Geigel Polanco, floor leader of the Popular Democratic Party; several congressmen and ex-congressmen; three judges, who having received their judicial appointments from the governor, were subject to recall for political activity; Juan Saez Corales, general secretary of the General Confederation of Workers; Cesar Andreu and other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; members of the Liberal Party, youth leaders, and representatives of women's groups. In addition to many trade unionists nearly every profession, such as doctors and teachers, was represented.

A sentence or two from some of the principal speeches will give you the flavor of the Congress. Said Benjamin Ortiz, president of the Public Service Commission and one of several government officials who spoke: "I am here because I am a Puerto Rican and never have I felt myself more a Puerto Rican than today. I am absolutely in favor of independence for our country." Rodolfo Ramirez Pabon, judge of the District Court of Mayaguez, introduced his remarks with the words, "In addressing myself to this assemblage I do so not in my character as a private citizen, but as a Judge of a tribunal of justice." Then he declared, "It is preferable to fall in the struggle for the noble cause of our freedom than to die as miserable slaves, and the Pro-Independence Congress has given the death blow to the shameful colonial system of Puerto Rico."

Speaking for the 170,000 workers organized in the General Confederation of Workers, Saez Corales explained that he was participating in the Congress "because we know that no liberation movement can succeed which does not have the support of the workers and peasants who are the backbone of the nation and must be the decisive force in such a movement."

From the opposite end of the social scale the editor of the very conservative paper *El Imparcial,* in a speech which included several statements of questionable political sagacity, nevertheless stated his conviction that only independence could solve the problems confronting Puerto Rico.

The outstanding contribution to the Congress was made by Senator Polanco of the Popular Party. "The people of Puerto Rico today face the problem of their sovereignty," he declared. "We do not raise this problem for theoretical, or emotional or doctrinaire reasons, but for a vital reason: the urgent necessity of our people to assume the control of their destiny in order to establish a governmental regime which will guarantee the justice, security, and well being of all the men and women who live here." The following economic advantages, he continued, would accrue to an independent Puerto Rico: freedom from the prejudicial effects of the US tariff; the right to establish Puerto Rican customs with protection for Island products; support for the industrialization of the country and for breaking the monoculture forced on the Island by the sugar interests. Senator Polanco pointed out that independence will permit the Island to accumulate the fruits of its labor and the wealth of its resources, and so will help solve the problem of unemployment. It will provide the opportunity for breaking down the trade isolation to which the US tariff has condemned the Island, and permit commerce with other Latin American and Caribbean nations and with the markets of Europe. It will free the country from its bondage to American shipping. Independence will put an end to absentee ownership and its exploitations, making it possible to lower the cost of living, which is now sky-high since the agricultural produce of Puerto Rico is absentee-controlled and owned. Under the colonial system, Senator Polanco pointed out, Puerto Ricans may initiate social and economic reforms but they cannot carry them through, as all such measures are subject to the political veto power and economic dominance of the United States.

Emphasizing the non-partisan character of the Pro-Independence Congress and pledging themselves to abstain from any action on issues other than independence, the delegates—representing the overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans—issued a "Declaration of Independence" which states: ". . . it is the right and the will of the people of Puerto Rico to constitute themselves a people free and sovereign, maintaining the closest political and economic cooperation with the other nations of the Americas, and living in peace and brotherhood with all the democratic peoples of the world. . . . The people of Puerto Rico claim their right to sovereignty in terms of friendship and brotherhood with the people of the United States. In the case of Puerto Rico, the traditional devotion of the American people to free institutions and the democratic way of life coincides with the moral duty of helping us to establish our Republic in the concert of free American peoples. The people of Puerto Rico are confident that the Congress of the United States, which has already, in the cases of Cuba and the Philippines, fulfilled its obligations under the treaty of Paris, will take the same action in the case of Puerto Rico, and, inspired by the principle that democracy has the duty to be the creator of democracy, will without further delay recognize the independence of our Island."

Here is a declaration emerging from a Congress marked by a clear understanding of the true nature of democracy and of the relationship of forces in today's world. The Pro-Independence Congress condemned the Axis powers and fascism in the strongest terms. It expressed "the solidarity of the people of Puerto Rico with the cause of liberty and democracy which the United Nations defend." It recognized that the struggle for independence cannot be isolated from the war against Hitlerism. It took cognizance, too, of the fact that Puerto Rican independence is not synonymous with Puerto Rican isolation, that, on the contrary, an independent Puerto Rican nation must maintain the closest ties with all the democratic nations of the world and particularly with those of the Western Hemisphere, and within this region close relations with the United States were stressed.

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THE Pro-Independence Congress passed a resolution calling upon President Roosevelt to give an unconditional pardon to Pedro Albizu Campos, distinguished nationalist leader, and sent greetings to both him and Juan Antonio Corretjer.

The people of Puerto Rico have again —this time more forcefully and with greater unity than ever before—asked for independence. They have declared their brotherhood with the democratic people of the United States and it is to them that their appeal is directed. Clearly and urgently, as part of the war job, the time has come when the people of the United States must act on this issue. The isolation of Puerto Rico's destiny will never be found by the Puerto Ricans alone. Nationhood for Puerto Rico will come only through the joint efforts of its people and the democratic forces of the United States. They are appealing to us with the dignity of a mature people and in the spirit of our common war against the Axis enemy. And it is high time that we in this country respond.

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

STATE DEPARTMENT MUDDLE

Washington.

WASHINGTON is in turmoil. After two weeks' absence I returned to find the capital, which I had left bogged down in wet heat, buzzing with unhealthy excitement. The rumor mills are grinding overtime. Gross calumnies are inspired, often in high places, and spread with malicious joy by specialists in smearing. Everyone has a pet "theory" about what is going on behind the scenes. The liberals are feeling pretty low, many of them convinced that their worst fears have already come true.

The same old Red-baiting and witch-hunting continues within the various departments, in many speeded up and intensified. Those New Dealers who have survived previous purges have either been caught up with at last and are clearing out their desks, or are hanging on by their eyelashes and expect any day to shake hands all around. But the real excitement at the moment centers in the State Department brawl precipitated by the dismissal of Sumner Welles and spotlighted by the serious crisis in relations between the Anglo-American allies and the Soviet Union.

A good deal has been written and much more is being said here about such-and-such phrase in Secretary Hull's latest press conference or about this-or-that remark dropped by an important official. Interpretations are a dime a dozen; a very few are worth listening to, most of them are not. It occurs to me, granted a momentary objectivity which is a vacation hangover, that most of the subtle analyses do not concern people outside of Washington. It seems likely that the American people have neither the time nor the inclination to examine under a magnifying glass each and every word of official statements and unofficial rumors. The present crisis is apt to elude most people not because it is too difficult to grasp but because it has been presented as an elaborate crossword puzzle.

For my own part, trying to catch up on what is happening, the crisis suddenly appears easy to understand if approached with some remembrance of things past. When I left, the central issue of the war was the second front, as it has been for so many, many months. In essence, the opening of a second land front in Europe, capable of engaging from forty to sixty Nazi divisions, is the only possible expression *in action* of the determination to wage all-out war in closest collaboration with all the United Nations. Speeches, conferences, declarations, conversations—all the diplomatic activity—are merely preparations for carrying *into action* the principle of coalition warfare. And there can be no substitute for action. The people's war against fascism, for liberation, and for the preservation of national integrity finds its fullest expression at this time only on the military front.

THE alternative to this concept of coalition warfare is a continuation of the old Neville Chamberlain policy of not hitting Hitler too hard lest the democratic upsurge of the masses be thereby released. The second front assures a speedy end to the European war. It promises liberation of the captured and enslaved masses. To those who fear the consequences of a rebirth of democracy, the victorious end of the war becomes a haunting specter. Victory must be postponed until some means can be found to keep the people in subjugation. A long drawn-out war offers the appeasers and defeatists additional time to maneuver. It offers leeway for plots and counter-plots to mature, so that the war's end, in the distant future, will find Europe saved for Chamberlainism with its cordon sanitaires, its military-fascist dictatorships, its doors and windows sealed tight against permanent and genuine democracy. Here in our own country a long war grants additional opportunity to the fascist-minded, the profiteers, and the monopolists to perfect their plans for an imperialist economy with weakened trade unions an easy mark for repression.

It is noteworthy that the most virulent opponents of the second front clamor for a national service act to control labor and to put the unions out of business; they are the supporters of the reactionary farm bloc; they are the most obscene administration-baiters; they are the hunters after "Reds"; they are the objectors to a planned approach to production and the war effort; they are the ones who insist on "Japan first!" They conceive of this war in the terms of the old-time munitions manufacturers. Their goal is to make this country a haven for reaction, and the instigator of future wars.

The best informed opinion here is that the clash within the State Department only reflects the central battle over how this war should be fought. Sumner Welles' ouster is a defeat for those who desire an all-out war, not because Welles was ever a flaming liberal, but because he emerged as the Department's one realist who understood that Europe and Asia could not be reconstructed on the old foundations and that friendship with the USSR was indispensable for our own security and for a stable postwar world. Sumner Welles as Undersecretary of State objected to the fascist-minded plottings of certain of his colleagues. The Bullitt-Berle faction—and it is by no means alone—is motivated solely by an intense fear of the possibilities of a democratic Europe. It is willing to play along with anything or anyone that will set the clock back to the good old days of pre-war Europe. It plots and whispers with every tin-horn fascist; despite official denials, it plays around with the idea of a confederation of small weak nations in central Europe dominated by clerical fascism.

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These men, who in the pre-war period helped scuttle collective security and murder Spain, today give Franco a pat on the shoulder, smirk at Mannerheim, underwrite the anti-Soviet members of the Polish, Greek, Yugoslav governments-in-exile. They try to prevent the Czechoslovaks from following a progressive policy; they knife the French Committee; they ignore the plight of the Jews. Above all, they feed their blind hatred for the Soviet Union. And all this adds up to opposition to coalition warfare, to a terrible fear of a people's victory—and therefore, to an intense desire to prevent the opening of a second front.

Sumner Welles more or less aligned himself against these short-sighted and bankrupt plotters. His forced resignation abandons the State Department to the shrewd manipulators who lack only a world view and a perception of actuality. The ousting of Welles unifies the Department, but, in the opinion of many here, it is the unity of men dedicated to reaction. Where the liberals have failed is in recognizing that the issue must be presented primarily in terms of true coalition policy, not in terms of clashing personalities.

At the height of this crisis, the columnist Drew Pearson hurled charges, couched in unfortunately extreme language, at Secretary Hull, and opened himself to a presidential rebuke. But leaving Hull's prejudices to one side as unimportant, the fact remains that this Department as he has organized it is composed almost without exception of men consistently outspoken in their hostility toward the Soviet Union—Berle, Long, Henderson, Dunn, Pavolsky, to name the best known—and who have tenaciously opposed every upsurge of the people's democratic action. It is also true that the State Department continues to fool around with foreign reactionaries who propose a "peace" perpetuating the fascist ruling cliques of Europe. It is true that the Department has recently held conversations with Spanish falangists and monarchists on the fate of Spain. The Department frankly wants to preserve the Finnish ruling clique; it revives, at this critical moment of the war, "criticism" of the USSR first uttered during the Finnish war when the Department was on the verge of breaking relations with the Soviet Union. It is true that the dismissal of Welles complicates the good neighbor policy, and that the appointment of Sam Zemurray of the United Fruit Co. to the Office of Economic Warfare (dominated by the State Department) has deeply upset Latin Americans.

Most of all, however, the Department of State under Mr. Hull has too usually proved inadequate, short-sighted, and often downright stupid. It has been criticized for having no policy; this statement is less than accurate—the Department has a policy, based on a desire to prevent change, and to frustrate the spread of democracy. It has a policy of reaction which, because it is unrealistic, degenerates into opportunism and adventurism. Every one of the leading State Department figures, along with Bullitt who helped press the anti-Welles intrigue, is quite willing at the moment to heap unstinting praise on the Red Army and the Soviet's contribution to the war. But most of these Department spokesmen fear the USSR, underestimate Soviet power, pervert Soviet policy, and misjudge Soviet intentions. As a result, their own outlook is steeped in prejudice and ignorance, and their own actions become particularly ominous because they are motivated by ideas that are simply untrue. Welles, an ardent conservative, attempted to see things as they are, and to orient American policy toward reality. His removal gives the petulant little men who still think in terms of another era a free hand. Nothing could be more dangerous to the best interests of our country.

The fact is the State Department is notoriously inadequate, notoriously inefficient. Whatever the reason, President Roosevelt failed to organize the State Department when he could easily have done so. Before and at the time of Pearl Harbor, he recognized that the Department was not a reliable or effective instrument; in consequence, he set up various organizations to act as substitutes for the Department—the lend-lease administration, the Board of Economic Warfare, the Rockefeller Committee, the Office of Strategic Services, the foreign branch of the Office of War Information, various special missions, and more recently, the Lehman food commission. But the State Department was shrewd enough to realize the danger of such competition; it succeeded in taking over every one of its so-called rivals. The detours around the Department were shut off one by one. Once again, the President is saddled with a Department that does not reflect the policies of total war and United Nations collaboration for which he has stood. Certainly, the Department's interpretation of "unconditional surrender" is exceedingly narrow: it seems to exempt the Horthys, the Petains, the Francos.

All of this has put Washington liberals in the dumps. They feel keenly what they consider the "desertion" by the President of the New Deal and his abandonment of those who desire a democratic peace. In the case of both Welles and Wallace, the President is undeniably open to justified criticism. The power exercised by James Byrnes, who is close to Hull and is inclined to come to terms with domestic reaction which is blocking the all-out war, is derived from the President, and the President's judgment in appointing Byrnes and others like him to high position is open to question. But in the end, this is not the President's war, as the Colonel McCormicks would have it. It is the entire nation's war, and it is up to the entire nation to see to it that the war is prosecuted fully and relentlessly. The State Department at the moment is supposedly immune from ordinary "pressure." But the master of the State Department, the President himself, is sensitive to the views of the country. The opening of the second front remains the touchstone of national policy, because it remains the touchstone to coalition warfare, of which the President is the nation's leading advocate. Out of the conduct of the war will grow the peace. The peace will not be something stewed in a vacuum cooker.

I talked to a union leader very deeply concerned with the progress of the war. "All this debate is on the wrong basis," he remarked in reference to the State Department brawl. "The question must be brought down to earth. It must be placed in terms of what an aggressive program should be. Once we know what must be done, all this double-talk will be shown up. And the program is simple enough. We must develop a passionate demand for a second front at once, not a second front to be opened some time, but at this moment. Everything else is subsidiary, because unless we wage a short war we imperil victory."

The fact is, Washington is a long way from the American people. There is an alarming lack of comradeship between the people whose war this is and the men in high places. Taking stock at this moment forces the conclusion that there is a waning contact between the capitol from where the war is being directed and the people. The trick of labeling the question of the second front as a military problem alone has been far too successful. First they talked of a lack of men, then of insufficient air power, then of an inadequate amount of ships and now—now, the second front should be delayed, they say, because of a failure to attain United Nations agreement on what to do with victory. The present reason is political enough, but on examination, so were all the previous reasons. Foreign policy and domestic policy cannot be separated. The way we win this war cannot be divorced from the kind of war we are fighting and the peace to come out of it. The State Department has been able to convince too many people that foreign policy is something recondite, with which the people have no concern. The unions are beginning to doubt this. The Welles affair is a warning that at this moment the ability to achieve coalition warfare—expressed in action by the immediate opening of a second front—is in the balance. The people can tip the balance, and coalition war can force even the State Department to respond to the needs of the nation and to the people's desire for a workable democratic peace.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

ITALY AND RUSSIA

In his remarkable book *Attack Can Win In '43* Max Werner says: "In European Russia, there is a clearly delimited zone of military decision. It is a zone whose eastern rim extends from Rostov across the eastern part of the Donetz Basin to Kharkov, Kursk, Orel and Bryansk, and from there to Rzhev.

"The western rim of this zone of decision runs from Dvinsk through Vitebsk to Gomel, Kremenchug and then through Krivoi Rog to Kherson.

"This zone includes all of the industrial centers of southern Russia: the Donetz Basin, Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, Krivoi Rog. Above all, it contains vital strategic positions and communications: the great Russian southern line, Orel-Crimea; the central part of the Leningrad-Odessa rail line and the Vitebsk-Gomel line; the important Gomel-Kremenchug rail line; the lower arm of the Dneiper and the upper and middle reaches of the Dvina; finally the Crimea with its ports. Odessa and Kiev do not belong to this zone of strategic decision; militarily, too, they are without significance. Westward from this zone of decision in a strategic sense is a desert which has no military value and offers nothing for the German defense.

"When the Wehrmacht shall have been expelled from this Russian zone, it will have lost the war. When the Red Army has recaptured this zone, it will have won the war. For then it will have all the industrial centers, communication lines and strategic key positions indispensable for victory. This region is about 300 miles wide in its southern and northern sectors; it is much narrower in the center, about 200 miles or less. In this area decisive battles will be waged. In May, 1943, the Red Army had the following key positions along its eastern rim: Rostov, Voroshilovgrad, Kursk, Vyazma, Rzhev, Velikie Luki. It stood close to many vital points of the German rear. It was only 130 miles from Zaporozhie and possession of this rail junction would give Russia control of the entire Southern Ukraine.

"In the spring of 1943 less than 200 miles separated the Red Army from victory."

Max Werner said this in May. I permit myself to quote at length because I cannot put the situation in a smaller nutshell.

Now let us look at what has happened since Mr. Werner's book was written. Take a map—any map, even the least detailed—and draw a line through the cities Mr. Werner names as the demarcation points of the Zone of Decision. The result will be a figure resembling a cross between a pig's knuckle, an hourglass, and a dumbbell. Now, if you draw in the approximate line of the front as of September 3 (when this was written) you will see that not much less than a half of the Zone of Decision is already in the hands of the Red Army. This territory embraces not only the key points enumerated by Werner, but also Orel, Karachev, Sumy, Belgorod, Kharkov, and Taganrog. These are located mostly along the eastern rim of the zone.

The central key points in the zone are Vitebsk, Smolensk, Bryansk, Konotop (or rather, Bakhmach), Poltava, Sinelnikovo, and Volnovakha. When they are taken, the main network of rail lines loses its integration and is reduced to loose threads.

Let us see how far the Red Army is from these central points. At Velizh it stands fifty miles from Vitebsk. Before Yelnya and Dorogobuzh it stands about thirty-five miles from Smolensk. Hardly twenty miles separate it from Bryansk. South of Krolevetz General Rokossovski is only fourteen miles from Konotop (twenty-five miles from Bakhmach). At Opochnya the Red Army is twenty-five miles from Poltava. Sinelnikovo is the farthest point to reach—eighty miles. Volnovakha is about thirty miles from the front where the German Taganrog army group was encircled and rubbed out.

Now, it is pretty clear that possession of these central key points by the Red Army would seal the fate of the entire zone, for the liberation of the whole would follow, if not automatically at least inevitably, with the exception of the two western corners, i.e. the area of Dvinsk and the area inside the big loop of the Dneiper. The Red Army may take Vitebsk and fail to reach Dvinsk because of the terrific German fortifications around the latter and also because of the terrain, which becomes practically impassable during the fall rains—they come early in this latitude.

The southwestern corner of the zone, i.e., the inside of the Dneiper loop, may be held after the fall of Zaporozhie and Sinelnikovo. It is argued that the shape of the Dneiper makes it a poor defensive position, as it lends itself to pinching off, but the Dneiper below Kiev is a mighty obstacle, with its width and its high western bank and low eastern one. The Red Army is still some 100 to 120 miles away from it, the front today almost paralleling the great curve—but by the time the Soviets get there the autumn rains will have come and the left bank of the Dneiper will be a mess.

So it is plain that the entire Zone of Decision can be recaptured by the Red Army, but only *if* the defenses of the upper and middle Dvina, the so-called gate of Smolensk (i.e. the Vitebsk-Orsha gap) and the Dneiper position are held, when the Russians come smack up to them, *by a German army weakened by the withdrawal of some fifty or sixty divisions to the West of Europe.*

When the Germans say they are retreating in the East only "to shorten the front" they obviously are lying. The truth is, they are being kicked out with terrible losses. "Disengaging themselves" is precisely what they are *not* able to do. However, simple measurements show that if the front on July 5 was about 1,000 miles between Velikie Luki and Taganrog, it would be only about 800 miles between Velikie Luki and Kherson should the Germans take their stand across the gate of Smolensk, and down along the Dneiper following the big loop. Should they cut across the loop, the front would be less than 700 miles long. In any case there would be an economy of at least 200 miles, which means the freeing of some forty divisions. As far as the Red Army is concerned, the shortening of its front would be offset by the lengthening of still unorganized lines of communications stretching through the autumn mud.

A correction might be made in Mr. Werner's opinion of the importance of the Zone of Decision: while Germany will have lost the war when it loses the zone (and it is about to lose most of it), it can still resist for a long time in what Mr. Werner calls the "strategic desert" to the west. After all, in the first world war Germany fought for three and one-half years precisely in that "desert," barely reaching the northeastern corner of the Zone of Decision at Dvinsk and occupying the Ukraine after that by arrangement with the treacherous Ukrainian government of the time.

So: attack can still win in '43, but that attack must come soon, on land, and from the West. The attack from the East is in full swing, but it takes two jaws to make a vise.

(*Continued on page 28*)

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HITLER'S UPRISINGS IN AMERICA

Earl Browder exposes the Axis' military weapon of racism as it operates in this country. The "hidden mines" of racial prejudice — and of "tolerance" toward prejudice.

ALONG with Hitler's "secret weapon," the Anti-Comintern, goes the twin doctrine of racial superiority, expressed in anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, and similar cults.

A short time ago in Detroit savage pogroms against Negroes had resulted in thirty-six dead, many hundreds injured, untold destruction of property, and the straining of all social relations. In the Harlem district of New York City, rioting on the streets resulted in six dead, hundreds injured, millions of dollars in property damage, and the disruption of the daily life of a great community. In Los Angeles street fighting went on for days, directed against the Mexican population, derisively identified as "zoot-suiters." In a hundred localities minor outbreaks are reported against the Jews. These are the highlights that disclose Hitler at work in the United States, on our own soil, dealing us blows heavier than those he has inflicted against us on the battlefield, because here he is striking at the heart of American democratic life.

Detroit is the clearest and most outstanding example of Hitler's invasion of America to date.

Shortsighted—or worse—officials in Detroit and Washington rushed into print to deny any Hitlerite origin or significance to these events. They insist that these disturbances are all of domestic manufacture, one hundred percent American, without relation to Hitlerism or the war.

Wherever these explosives may have been manufactured, they are being fired today, in the middle of 1943, on orders from Berlin, at a moment chosen by Hitler, for objects that benefit Hitler. That is the cold truth that must be faced and understood as part of the price of victory in the war.

Hitler's war machine long ago searched out all the forces in the United States which could be used in his march to world rule. He counted on them, in the event most favorable to him, to dominate the United States and bring this country into alliance with him; he expected, at the most unfavorable turn, to disrupt the United States by means of these forces, and prevent our country from exerting its full force in the war against him.

The identifying sign for all such disruptive forces which work for Hitler, are the ideas of the Anti-Comintern—anti-Communism, anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, and also anti-Catholicism except in the Catholic communities.

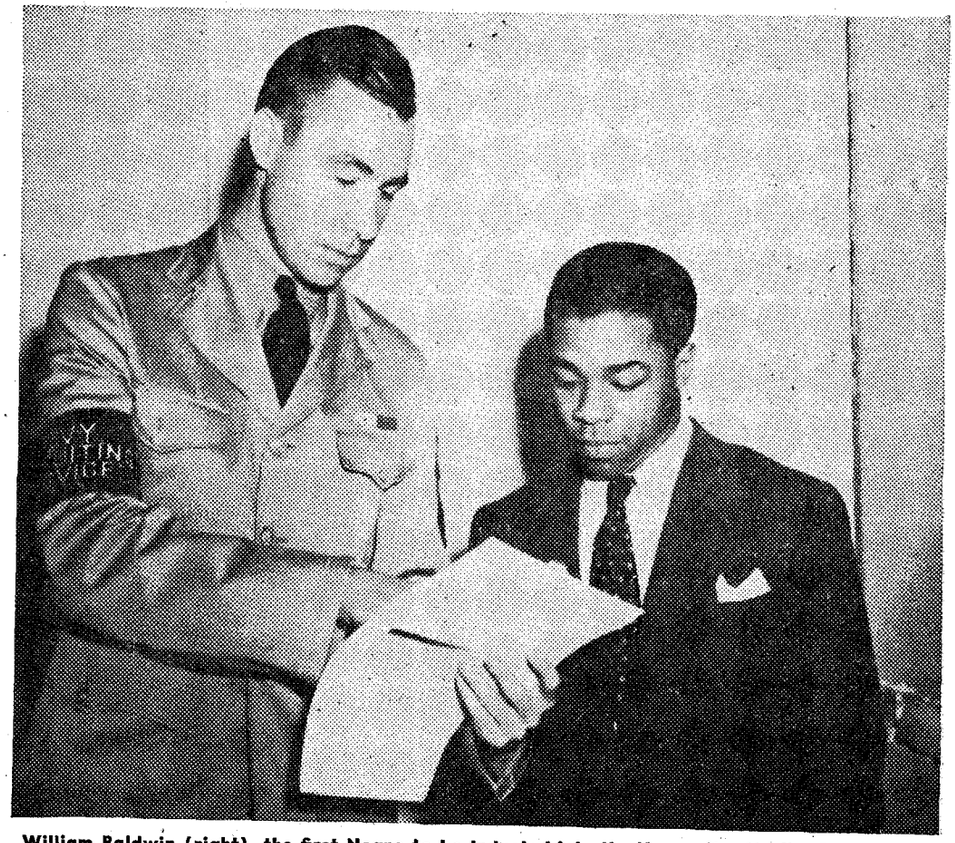
The Nazi war machine was not content merely to depend upon the automatic operation of these political forces in their favor. *It entered into organized relations with them, and established its own machinery of leadership over them, and made bargains with them. It left nothing to chance.*

Therefore, the series of events we now witness in the United States is not the simple working out of race prejudice; it is race prejudice enlisted in Hitler's fifth column war machine, working under military discipline on a war calendar. We will ignore this fact, or refuse to recognize its true meaning, at our peril as a nation.

THE doctrine of racial superiority, in all its forms and consequences, is definitely enlisted in this war on the side of Hitler. In all its manifestations it works for Hitler. If we want victory in this war, then we must fight against and destroy this agency of the enemy within our ranks. This is a war question, a matter of life-or-death for our nation. All easy-going and tolerant approaches to it are contributions to Hitler.

The face of this Hitler agency is most clearly revealed in examples such as that of Gerald L. K. Smith and his "America First" Party in Detroit and vicinity (and being spread to other centers). This Nazi-imitator and follower rallied over 100,000 votes in the Michigan Republican Party primaries. He maintains close relations with the notorious Father Coughlin, and all other native fascists, and with Harry Bennett, chief executive of the Henry Ford organization. He has gathered into his party all the remnants of the old Ku Klux Klan and Black Legion. He spreads the most virulent forms of race prejudice along with anti-Communism, in an open and flagrant defeatist agitation against the war. As an interesting sidelight on the far-flung ramifications of the anti-victory conspiracy, it should be noted that Gerald Smith has found one of his most effective instruments in a book written by a leading light in the so-called "right wing" of the American Labor Party of New York, *The Red Decade* by Eugene Lyons, a book highly praised also by Radio Berlin at the time it was published.

Unquestionably it is the concentration in Detroit of such forces as Gerald L. K. Smith, which is responsible for the vicious



William Baldwin (right), the first Negro to be inducted into the Navy after its Jim Crow ban on Negro enlistment in general service was finally relaxed. Discrimination against Negroes in our armed forces, however, is still an aid to the enemy.

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He fights Hitler. Don't fight him, by failing to combat racism.

and damaging anti-Negro outbreak in that city. And that concentration upon Detroit is, in turn, because it is the city of highest concentration of war production!

The doctrine and practice of Negro segregation, based upon the idea of "white superiority" and the "inferiority of the colored races" as "facts of nature," cannot be reconciled with the role and tasks of the United States in this war. It is incompatible with a victorious outcome of the war. It puts an explosive contradiction in the heart of every phase of our war effort, to be exploited at will by every enemy of our country, internal and external. The explosion of these hidden mines in our society are more damaging than two-ton bombs dropped from the sky by Hitler's Luftwaffe. To wage war under such doctrine is possible only by copying the Hitler type of social and political organization, by a terroristic police-state, carried out to the end, and by a Hitler-like relationship with our Allies, on the style of the German-Italian "alliance."

The simplest first steps of war mobilization have demonstrated how profoundly irreconcilable is Jim Crow with effective conduct of the war.

Our General Staff began to build our ten-million army with an uncritical acceptance of the practice of Negro segregation. It quickly found this was the greatest single difficulty in the building of an effective army. Segregation violated the first principle of military organization; it created two armies instead of one, and the basis of the division had nothing whatever to do with military practice or theory. Our ten percent Negro population, instead of adding that proportion to our military strength, was thus turned into a multiplication of our difficulties. The Negro was inducted into the status of "problem" instead of the status of soldier.

Efforts to give a functional basis to segregation, by assigning to Negro units the status of "labor battalions" in keeping with their assumed inferiority, merely intensified the difficulties and brought them to a boiling point.

In the specialized services and officers' corps the system of Jim Crowism was immediately so unworkable that it began to break down at once, and a process of modification began which quickly led to the complete abolition of segregation in the field of officers' training. The complete imbecility of a duplicate system of training officer cadres knocked out Jim Crow from this phase of the military effort quite early in the war. The most hardened champion of white superiority could not successfully defend this obvious military stupidity, with its disruptive results. Thus the basic problem of Jim Crow in the army was placed early in its stark outlines: Either abolish Jim Crow or bar Negroes from the army entirely.

It is a military impossibility to build an effective army on the basis of two categories, first and second class, of citizenship. An army can be built only on the foundation of equal citizenship.

Political principles and morality, denied in their own proper sphere, thus gain their revenge by reappearing as military necessity.

Meanwhile, a penalty has been imposed upon our country for the original violation of principles. The patriotic Negro population, ten percent of the country, has been aroused to a high pitch of indignation by the treatment of its men in the armed forces. National unity has been undermined. The development of our military power has been delayed. The price of victory has been enormously increased.

Perhaps the most serious penalty resulting from fumbling with the status of Negro citizens, and the attempts to enforce a Hitler-like policy, is the moral stigma attached to our country in the eyes of our allies, the decline in confidence in the United Nations—a majority composed of the so-called "colored races." The moral authority of the United States among the other nations of the world is seriously damaged, at a cost that is beyond computation.

The damage resulting from equivocal handling of the country's Negro citizens is multiplied by the rise of a virulent anti-Semitism in the country.

IF THE anti-Negro cult has its special American origins in the slavery incompletely abolished in our Civil War, there is no such historical explanation for the current rise of anti-Semitism in the United States. This is an arrogant importation from Hitler Germany of its most characteristic poison.

A number of surveys have recently been made of the rise of anti-Semitism in this country. They agree approximately in the startling conclusions that the political opinions of the majority of Americans have been molded in some degree by the anti-Semitic propaganda, and that some ten percent of the population have become active carriers of anti-Semitic ideas. There has been a mounting series of violent attacks against the Jews, their persons, their religious institutions, their businesses, their homes, all stemming directly from this active propaganda. Its influence is being shown also in the armed forces.

What is most dangerous in this situation is the toleration shown to these divisive and obscurantist cults by the government, by the newspapers, by the church, by the broad circles of influential persons who set the tone of public life. It is assumed that the proper way to combat these menaces is by belittling or ignoring them. The active propagation of these poisonous ideas is not combated with any seriousness by counter-education or other effective measures.

Whence does this tolerance arise? Why do the most vulgar and open exponents of Hitlerism find such freedom for their activities? Why is it so difficult to arouse government and public to decisive action against them?

The answer to these questions must be found in the fact that our government and our most respectable organs of public opinion are themselves infected with the same poison in more subtle and insidious form. They are unable to move decisively against the Gerald L. K. Smiths and Father Coughlins because they are infected with a degree of the same prejudices upon which those gentry play.

An example of this "meeting of minds" between open Nazi agitators and the most respectable circles of American society comes to my hand as I write this, almost as if made to order to illustrate my point. It is in the New York *Times* of Aug. 3, 1943, in the signed column of Mr. Arthur Krock, chief editorial writer of that paper and head of its Washington Bureau. Mr. Krock, in the midst of many sober and correct observations in relation to the Harlem riots, puts the odious worm of race prejudice in the core of his apple, when he comes out with an unconditional support of Negro segregation, Jim Crowism, as a recognition of "the facts of nature," denounces opposition to segregation as the work of "political demagogues of both colors," calling it "poisonous and explosive doctrine." He declares that "the majority is unalterably opposed" to the abolition of Jim-Crowism. He limits any changes of this system to making sure it is administered "in the light of the lamps of justice."

(Just to keep the record straight, and in fairness to the New York *Times* as an institution, it must be noted that Mr. Krock's doctrine does not seem to have the unanimous support of the editorial staff, since the same issue says, in an unsigned editorial:

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"If there is discrimination against any one on account of race or religion, then no one is secure.")

Mr. Krock's position is the exact American equivalent of the "moderate" Nazi attitude toward anti-Semitism in Germany. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, for example, has been reported to "deplore" the "excesses" of the Nazi pogroms against the Jews, in words almost like a German translation of Arthur Krock as quoted above. He also explained the "deplorable excesses" as the inevitable result of the "poisonous and explosive doctrine" that the Jews should have the same rights as other citizens; he also saw in the ghettos merely a recognition of "the facts of nature"; he also wanted Nazi doctrines to be administered "in the light of the lamps of justice."

Just as Dr. Schacht's "moderate" version of anti-Semitism served in life merely to give more of a free hand to the pogrom-makers all over Germany, so also does Mr. Krock's "moderate" version of the specific American form of the Nazi "Aryan" doctrine result in freedom of action for Gerald L. K. Smith and his kind to decide what actually happens on the streets of Detroit, New York, Los Angeles, Beaumont, and all over the country where men, women, and children are killed in cold blood with no one called to account.

Mr. Krock will doubtless feel outraged at the hint that he shares in any degree the responsibility for these mass murders. Just so, also, Dr. Schacht was outraged by the opinion that he, the impeccable gentleman, could in any way be associated with the "excesses" of Hitler's storm troopers. But just as Schacht was a necessary part of Hitler's system and shared fully in the responsibility for its crimes, so does Arthur Krock, by the endorsement of the basic ideas of "racial superiority," share in the denial of democratic rights which culminates in mass killings on the streets of Detroit.

It is impossible to isolate and defeat the Gerald L. K. Smith type of leadership if we tolerate as "respectable" the Arthur Krock version of Nazi doctrine.

For just as Arthur Krock felt no constraint in expressing ideas in fundamental agreement with Hitler's racism in regard to the Negroes, because he doubtless was unconscious of the direct political connotation, so unquestionably there are wide circles who do not actively propagate these cults but who automatically and uncritically agree with them when they are expressed, or at least do not protest against them, because they have become "acclimated" to the presence of such ideas in their social and political environment as "normal."

We cannot escape the conclusion that toleration or passivity in the presence of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism marks a definite degree to which the ideology of Hitlerism has conquered the American mind.

WE ARE not here dealing with abstract ideas; we are dealing with forms of social and political relationships, which are decisive factors in national unity for the war, in our military power, in our relation with our Allies, in our role in the postwar reorganization of the world. Failure to understand this reflects a shallow understanding of the meaning of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism. Such a shallow understanding is smugly satisfied with itself as "humanitarianism," it rejects these cults as "unjust" and "unscientific," but completely fails to see their operation as political weapons in the life-and-death struggle of nations; completely fails to understand that they must be fought against and destroyed now, as a part of the war, with the same intransigeance with which we fight against and destroy the armed forces of the enemy. Therefore it is even proposed that we "postpone" the fight against anti-Negroism and anti-Semitism until the war has been won, because, forsooth, this fight might "interfere with the prosecution of the war!"

Defeat and abolition of these doctrines of racial superiority, the complete removal of their influence from the social and political relationships within the nation, are a necessary part of achieving victory in the war. Without this there can be no clear and complete victory. Without this all our efforts and sacrifices for the war will have been to that degree in vain, for the richest rewards of victory will have been lost while its cost will have been enormously raised.

How silly it is, in the grim light of war, to dismiss these problems as merely the concern of the minorities involved—the Communists, the Jews, the Negroes—in which the main body of the population has at most only a humanitarian interest!

These are the common problems of the entire nation. The nation as a whole must be educated and mobilized to solve them.

The practical insurance of equal democratic rights of citizenship to all, without discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or political opinion, can remain no longer in the realm of pious aspiration; it must be realized in life, in the everyday life of the millions, or else we must suffer the penalty that the United States will not be able to meet and conquer the world-crisis in which we are involved.

Anti-Semitism must be made a crime, an offense against common decency, which brings down penalties upon it that will effectively drive it out of all public expression.

Anti-Negroism in all its manifestations of Jim Crow segregation, poll-tax laws, and all their consequences, must be rooted out of American social and political practice by laws, by energetic administration, and by public education, so that even its slightest manifestation will become as impossible as public declarations of belief in witchcraft have become.

Only thus can Hitlerism be defeated. This is included in the price of victory.

EARL BROWDER.

"Senator Julep has such fine sensibilities. He says he would like lynching better if it were made part of the written law."

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HOW STRONG IS THE NAZI ARMY?

The Wehrmacht of 1943 has changed a lot from the one that invaded the Soviet Union. Eight million casualties, with inferior replacements. Scraping the bottom of the manpower barrel.

THE argument most frequently advanced against invading Europe from the west is the one that the German army is still nearly as powerful as it was in 1941 and that the units it can spare from the Soviet front are too formidable for us to challenge in head-on attack. To put it mildly, this is untrue. In the twenty-six months since it invaded Soviet Russia, the Wehrmacht has been reduced in size and quality. But more important it has been reduced to a position of hopeless inferiority to the coalition of its foes. It retains enough strength to offer tenacious resistance to any one of them alone and, if given the chance, to recuperate from some of its wounds; but if we act decisively *now*, it will crash to quick and final defeat.

The battlefield evidence of this is overwhelming—the collapse in Tunisia, the quick failure of the July offensive toward Kursk, the Red Army's summer advances and the fall of Sicily. . . . But let us begin with an examination of the Wehrmacht's manpower position. Available information on German losses is confined to over-all figures (Wehrmacht, Luftwaffe, and navy). Such are more than adequate, however, for almost all are chargeable directly to the Wehrmacht, and the remainder also affect the size and character of the army the Reich can put in the field.

Allowing for the increase in Germany's manpower pool from natural growth and annexations over the past years, Nazi losses are already half again as great as those which broke the Kaiser's army. In World War I Reich dead, captured, and permanently disabled totaled about 4,000,000. (Throughout this article, the wounded able to return to active military service are not counted as casualties unless specifically indicated.) Proportionate losses today would be 5,500,000. They are actually more than 8,000,000.

According to Soviet estimates, which in my opinion are conservative, up to June 22 of this year Axis dead and prisoners on the Russian front were 6,400,000. About 5,000,000 of these were Germans. There is no accurate way of estimating the additional number of Germans permanently disabled during the same period, but it is certainly a minimum of 2,000,000. Since June 22 the Soviet High Command has stated that 1,000,000 more have been killed, wounded, and taken prisoner. Luftwaffe and navy casualties and Wehrmacht losses in other theaters of war since 1939 aggregate at least another 500,000. Thus the over-all total is in excess of 8,000,000.

These estimates are confirmed by German insurance data smuggled out of the Reich and published in the New York *Times* last spring. The insurance figures reported 4,800,000 death, disability, and prisoner benefit payments through last January 1, covering battle actions through the end of last summer. The statistics show that even before last year's enormously successful Soviet fall and winter campaigns German casualties approached 6,000,000, for the 4,800,000 figure does not include soldiers listed as missing or unaccounted for (their families received no benefit payments)—a large group owing to the circumstance that Germany and the USSR do not regularly exchange names of prisoners.

The 8,000,000 who are now out of the war for keeps are more than one-third of the 22,500,000 German males (population figures from the German Statistical Yearbook for 1939) who were between eighteen and forty-five in 1939 or have passed their eighteenth birthdays since. The fallen also include nearly half of the 11,500,000 between eighteen and thirty, who make the best soldiers. In addition, German casualties included a disproportionate share of the Nazi "political elite"—the professional Nazis belonging to the blackshirt SS division serving with the Wehrmacht. During the first winter of the Soviet war, alongside the blows designed to free the Moscow area of danger, the Red Army carried out a series of widely spaced attacks at other points on the front. These seemingly unrelated operations were actually aimed at wiping out SS units, on the

Underground

ANNA MARIE BARTELS comes from Hamburg. She was eighteen last January. Her family was always well-to-do, and when Hitler came to power old Bartels joined the Nazi Party. His son became a career officer. When war broke out, the Bartels gave the boy a large farewell party. Later on they put out flags whenever victories in the north, the east, or southeast were announced.

But after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, things changed. For one, Bartels, Jr., was killed on the Eastern Front. A few cousins followed him. Old Bartels had a nervous breakdown and was removed from his party post. Anna Marie's sweetheart was mobilized, sent into the front lines in Russia, and was killed there like her brother. The girl began to think. All those Hitler promises. . . . And then she spoke in quite a peculiar manner at a school ceremony on the occasion of Hitler's birthday. The affair was hushed up but Anna Marie was expelled from school. In November 1942 she was tried before a special court in Hamburg for having "helped a Polish and Russian prisoner of war to escape and to rejoin the enemy armies." When asked whether she knew about the law forbidding Germans to have anything to do with "inferior races" such as Poles and Russians, Anna Marie answered: "Yes, I know that law and I despise it."

She was sentenced to thirteen years in prison. The trial revealed that she had not worked alone. "A whole organization of criminal elements is engaged in ferrying war prisoners through Germany and the front lines back to their armies." And the Hamburg *Fremdenblatt* in reporting Anna Marie's trial hinted at the "terrifying fact" that "several youthful persons" were involved, which "means that the youth has become so depraved that the fact cannot be left unobserved."

That "depraved youth" means that ten years of Nazi education has not exterminated the spirit of liberty and that there are even in the Hitler youth organizations hidden fighters of the underground waiting for the moment to strike.

One of the underground papers, a copy of which made its way to London, reported that the Hamburg underground honored Anna Marie Bartels by distributing 2,000 leaflets telling her story and calling on the people to help escaped war prisoners and to disregard the Nazi propaganda about "inferior races."

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belief that one way to crush a fascist army is to break its fascist backbone. This policy has been pursued since with evident success—the majority of the SS divisions in existence in 1941 have been entirely wiped out. Units of the same names now in service are actually re-creations of the past year.

THE fact that the Wehrmacht is still fighting—losses had not yet reached one-fourth of the eighteen to forty-five pool when the Kaiser's Reich cracked—is due primarily to the fact that the Nazis have harnessed the entire continent by terror and tyranny. The Wehrmacht has functioned this long only because eight to twelve million foreign slaves are at work in Germany and millions more in other parts of Europe are also forced to work for the Nazis. But the Nazis have reached the bottom of the German manpower barrel, and they have not been able to prevent a sharp decline in the Wehrmacht's numbers and quality.

Two years ago the average German division comprised 14,000 superbly trained and conditioned men who had already tasted smashing victory several times and had never known defeat. Today, according to reports from Tunisia and Sicily as well as the Soviet front, the typical Nazi division counts only 11,500 men, and some have even fewer. Among Wehrmacht "divisions" in Russia, for example, are several Luftwaffe ground crew units hastily armed and grouped as "divisions" of 3,000 to 4,000 men each. Moreover, the elan of the Wehrmacht has been all but destroyed by the course the war has taken, and the Wehrmacht includes an increasing proportion of men who are second rate soldier material.

In addition to the terrible effect of the failure to achieve any truly decisive victories since the costly conquest of Crete, the two winter campaigns in Russia and the prospect of a third, and the succession of defeats since the Battle of Moscow, Nazi authorities have also had to cope with a serious morale problem arising from the air raids on western Germany. German army units were formerly organized on a territorial basis, men from a given locality serving in the same unit. Divisions from western Germany have now had to be broken up and redistributed, because for weeks after a raid on a particular area, the unit from that area was concerned in large part with events at home and cared not too much about fighting. This phenomenon has affected more than a quarter of active German units.

TO AN ever greater extent the army of our main enemy consists of "recovered" wounded and frostbitten, of men over thirty and youths under eighteen, of those who were rejected earlier in the war because of physical unfitness, but have now been called up. German ranks even include thousands of conscripted non-Germans (not to be confused with the twenty-eight to thirty divisions of Axis satellite troops also on the eastern front) who are a constant source of "political defection" and desert at the earliest opportunity. More than half of the Wehrmacht's divisions have between five and twenty percent of Lorrainers, Poles, Czechs, and other non-Germans distributed two or three to a platoon (so that they can be watched) whose lack of eagerness to die for Hitler lowers the fighting efficiency of the units as a whole.

After the Stalingrad disaster Berlin decreed a total mobilization—a literally complete combing out of every German male who could be spared from the home front—with the object of placing 3,000,000 replacements at the disposal of the high command. It fell far short of its goal, bringing in not more than 2,000,000 and probably only 1,250,000, including the new class of 600,000 eighteen-year-olds and a large number of restored wounded. The New York *Times*' Stockholm correspondent, George Axelsson, reports that physical disability rejections of groups other than the eighteen-year-olds and restored wounded examined in the call-up were nearly ninety percent. The number the army could thus draw on was sharply circumscribed by the fact that air defense and SS demands for manpower were given equal weight with the army's. The Luftwaffe (which includes air defense units), SS and navy together are at least 750,000 stronger than two years ago. And finally the Germans are at the point where no more Reich citizens can be taken from the factories; the Germans who are left are all required for supervisory, guard, and machine-setting duties. No more foreigners can be employed without withdrawing Germans from other duties to watch and manage them.

Red Army Machine Gunners: An example of the resistance that took away the Wehrmacht's "invincibility."

WITH numbers depleted and quality declining (as German military historian Colonel Soldan wrote of the 1918 army, "the replacements constituted a danger rather than an asset for the troops"), the Wehrmacht is a far different force from the one which plunged across the Soviet border on June 22, 1941. That year it waged offensives over a front of 1,500 miles; the next year, over 500 miles; and this year it was compelled to confine its offensive operations to a front of 165 miles only, in an operation which was spent in ten days. The Red Army has softened the Wehrmacht to the point where two-front war can bring about Hitlerite Germany's collapse within a matter of a short time.

JOSEPH REED.

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TERROR IN ARGENTINA

Neither the people nor the government are "neutral." The people fight for the democracies, while Ramirez' storm-troopers smash the anti-Hitler organizations. . . . A report from Buenos Aires.

Buenos Aires via Montevideo.

SINCE the middle of 1941 there has existed in Argentina a national movement for aid to the Allies. It has had the widest sympathy and support among the overwhelmingly democratic people of the country. Though committees organized by members of the English community were helping Great Britain before the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, it was only when the entry of the Soviet Union into the conflict destroyed the last hope that the struggle would stop short of a global war that the movement to aid the Allies became national in scope. It was the way in which Argentinians, like most Latin Americans, expressed the feeling that they could not remain passive before battles whose outcome would surely affect their future. It was the way in which citizens of a neutral country, in which the tory Castillo government held out no hope for a break with the Axis, could express their will for Allied victory.

So in 1941 many different kinds of relief and aid organizations were established. The Democratic Argentine Confederation for Aid to the Free Peoples was built around a nucleus of important figures belonging to different political parties (among them the Radicals, Socialists, and Communists), some intellectuals, and, above all, well known labor leaders. This group grew to 100,000 members and its contributions, particularly to the Soviet Union, amounted to a sum proportionately far greater than that collected by any similar organization in a non-belligerent country.

The Committee for Victory was created in Buenos Aires by twenty-seven Argentinian women in September 1941, and within twenty months it became the largest and most influential women's organization the country had ever known. Its active membership consisted of 48,000. Women of all political tendencies worked in the committee, most of them not affiliated with any political party since Argentinian women enjoy no political rights whatsoever. Among them were large numbers of Catholics and representatives of the most diverse social strata: intellectuals, workers, thousands of peasant women, housewives, teachers, artists.

The Victory Committee was distinguished for its organization of the voluntary labor of thousands of women who knitted, tailored overcoats, sewed baby clothes, prepared bandages and all kinds of relief and medical supplies for the anti-Hitler fighters. Strictly respecting the desires of its donors, the Committee gave to Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and the United States. It held benefits and festivals to collect the funds with which to buy cloth and other materials on which the women worked either in their own homes or in the 132 shops which the Committee set up all over the republic.

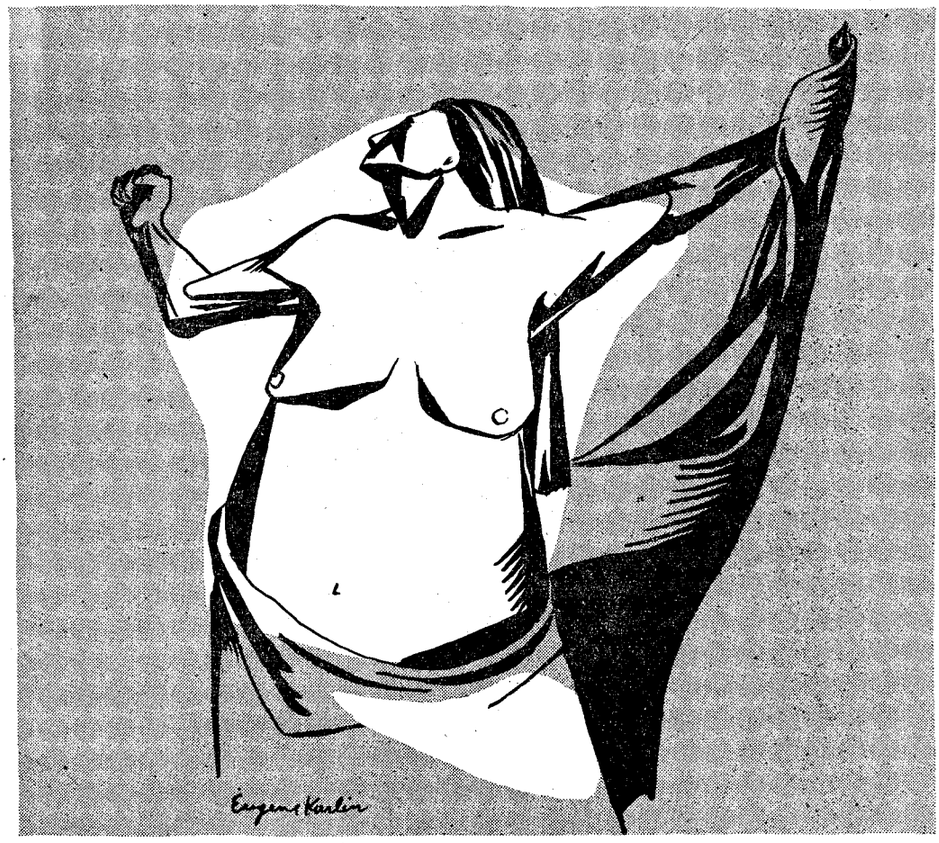
Thanks to the free labor of many thousands of feminine hands, every penny collected by the organization multiplied its value: goods worth almost 1,000,000 Argentine pesos were sent to Britain and Russia, a great shipment of white wool was sent to "Bundles for America," and $10,000 to the Chinese Red Cross.

Another interesting group was the Argentinian Medical Commission for Aid to the Democracies, in which doctors, dentists, biochemists, pharmacists and nurses prepared medical supplies for the armies of the United Nations. The commission had its own shop and laboratories, where many of its members compounded special heart stimulants for freedom's fighters.

Various groups of youths, journalists, and artists were also organized along similar lines and functioned with great success. And the Jewish Committee for Aid to the Free Peoples, in which the large Jewish population of the country gathered, became the most important of all the organizations. The sums it collected almost surpassed those of all other relief organizations. Its workshops, where clothing was made and all kinds of cloth woven, made new production records.

UNHAPPILY for the prestige of the Argentinian nation, it is now necessary to speak in the past tense of this broad movement for aid to the democracies—a movement which to some extent at least permitted the country to uphold its honor in the rest of the world. The military dictatorship of General Ramirez has destroyed the work of these Argentinian groups.

Since that government seized control of the nation through the *coup d'etat* of June 4, practically all the measures taken by Ramirez and his ministers have been of a pro-Nazi character—despite the government's first declarations which led many to think it was moving toward a break with the Axis. Ramirez has, it is true, taken a few more or less demagogic and ineffectual steps toward lowering hideously inflated living costs. But these few economic measures are only camouflage to obscure other reactionary political moves.



Mother Europe

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It could be said that General Ramirez is trying (though with much difficulty) to import into Argentina what was once the Mussolini brand of Italian fascism. Perhaps the anti-democratic stand of the present government can best be judged by its opposition to the movement for aid to the Allies; this in addition to the fact that the Ramirez government has incorporated in its ranks outspoken and notorious anti-Semites and is persecuting all progressives, Communist and non-Communist. But there is more evidence than this. There is the fact that the Communist leader Vitorio Codovilla, the eminent anti-fascist, is still imprisoned by the Ramirez government in the far south of Patagonia where his life is in constant danger. There are also the hundreds of political prisoners who fill the jails of the country, among whom are not only outstanding trade union leaders but well known intellectuals, doctors, lawyers, students, and publishers. There is also the suppression of such periodicals as *La Hora, Orientacion,* the weekly *Argentina Libre,* the Socialist daily *Vanguardia.* There is the dissolution of "Accion Argentina," made up of many political ideologies including National Democrats, on the extreme right, and Socialists on the left. Although no Communists belonged to this group, its offices were shut down because of its "extremist propaganda." And with all of this, there is the attempt to destroy the trade unions through the establishment of corporative labor bodies. On the other hand the Ramirez government permitted the newspapers *El Pampero* and *Cabildo,* subsidized by the German and Italian Embassies, to continue publication and distribution without interference.

And finally again, there is the attitude of the Ramirez government toward the movement of aid to the Allies. From June 4, 1943, the relief organizations mentioned have found it impossible to raise any new funds. At first, public meetings and benefits were prohibited. Then their executive bodies were forbidden to assemble. Next the operation of the workshops was prevented and finally local offices were closed. The almost 500,000 persons associated with the relief movement soon found themselves, without explanation, denied access to the places they themselves had paid for, forbidden the use of the machines they had bought, and prohibited from sending abroad the goods they had made.

With the ministerial decree of June 28 in its hands, the Buenos Aires police, which exercises an extra-official influence throughout the whole country, was able to realize a plan long cherished by the Nazis in its ranks. Now it is trying to wipe out not only the organized relief movement but to pull up its very roots—an obviously impossible task unless the Ramirez government proposes to jail the 500,000 to 600,000 individuals who have helped the democracies through these national organizations.

THE police methods themselves deserve a separate chapter. Once the decree to close the relief offices was issued, the police decided that the organizations, instead of being merely closed down, must be "dissolved." And they began the task of "dissolution" with the Victory Committee, at the same time proposing to follow this procedure not only with other Argentinian groups mentioned, but with such committees as the Fighting French and Free Italy. On July 20 the police broke into the twenty-three branches of the Victory Committee in Buenos Aires. They used all the methods of common house-breakers, forcing the locks and crashing down the doors. They stole everything, from cash boxes with money to electric light bulbs.

Their aim to destroy and steal was evident from the fact that while police officers in some places admitted they had orders to leave the furniture, the first things they took away were the typewriters and sewing machines. It was in the central office of the Victory Committee that the police were most destructive. There, with a great show of decorum, they listed the great quantity of cartons and boxes which they later stole, without taking note of their contents. And the boxes and cartons were filled with thousands of bandages and dressings which the women of Argentina had made for the soldiers fighting at the fronts—bandages and dressings which those soldiers need. The cartons and packages contained hundreds of suits and dresses and swaddling clothes made by Argentinian mothers for British, Russian, and Chinese children.

Only if you were there when the police ruined the fruits of many months of labor could you understand how heartbreaking it was. To see them destroy the literature, trample and soil the bandages and dressings, steal the typewriters and sewing machines! To hear their jokes while the helpless women stood by!

Above all, you would have had to see the spirit of common endeavor which these thousands of women had developed, women with no previous organizational experience, whose sense of duty to humanity had overcome all obstacles. Yes, if you had seen the peasant women of the Chaco, bent over their looms after their cruel labor in the field from sun-up to sun-down; the volunteer workers who surpassed the production of professionals, pouring out the goods from their workshops and little factories—if you had seen this, you could comprehend the shameful act of the Ramirez police.

But it is clear that despite the Nazis in the police force, the moral ties with the democracies which had become so strong were not destroyed. The work of the relief organizations had attracted all sections of public opinion, and Ramirez' attack on them alarmed the whole population. People, therefore, now ask themselves "Is this the way the government changes the catastrophic foreign policy of Castillo? Is this the way it intends to fulfill its international obligations? Is this the way to break with the Axis? Or is this the way the Ramirez government has chosen to isolate itself from the Allies?

X Y Z.

The City of Steel

Under flourishing trees
Once more the dancing hands build, and factories go singing:
festival of creation
Where lately the monumental contest raged.
Flowering from the black trunk, the people build,
Where lately they established a glory on the foundations of history
While blood flowed down the walls of civilization,
Where they became a bell.

Over the suffering earth
The bell of Stalingrad tolls.
The people have heard;
They have listened;
They know the meaning:
The footfall of the new world,
That lies inside
The old.

RALPH KNIGHT.

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HOLLYWOOD WRITERS MOVE UP

What happens to a novel, play, or story before it becomes a film script? Scenarist Paul Trivers shows how the screen writer can, and does, add to the original material.

Hollywood.

For many years authors have sold their novels, stories, and plays to Hollywood and thereupon taken themselves to bed and prayed that the results on the screen would enable them to walk with dignity among their fellow-men. And very often these authors stayed in bed, muttering bitter curses, their worst fears realized. For Hollywood had set upon their literary material, torn it limb from limb and presented it on the screen so that no one, least of all the authors, was able to recognize the original work. Of course this was not always true, but since it did happen in many cases it became a conventionality to say that honest work could come to no good end in Hollywood, that the moguls out there, aided and abetted by their slaves in shorts, the screen writers, would violate with impunity any honorable literary effort.

From this conclusion it was relatively easy to excuse the mogul, on the ground of his ignorance, and to put most of the blame on the screen writer, on the ground of his venality. Yet actually the question is not who is to blame for the destruction of work of import, the producer or the screen writer, but rather if it is true at all any longer! It is the purpose of this article to show that what may have been the fact in the past is no longer the fact today. Screen writers, and producers also, are to an increasing degree becoming aware of their responsibilities as citizens. The war has produced far-reaching effects in the motion picture, as well as in other phases of American life, and it is time that people generally understood that.

These far-reaching effects can be illustrated in many ways, but within the scope of the present article an effort will be made to show one aspect only, which it is hoped will illuminate sharply the tremendous contribution the screen writer is making today. It is no accident either. He knows what he is doing. He realizes that everything he writes, once it is on the screen, has a powerful effect on the thinking of the entire country, on the thinking of the entire world for that matter. Therefore he must make sure that the plot-scheme of his picture and the way he develops his characters will leave his audience not with ambiguous or negative attitudes but with clear, vital, positive attitudes. This is not because he wishes to falsify the truth. On the contrary, the truth is that the majority of the people feel positive today. Positive pictures can strengthen them. And that's the screen writer's job.

Let us see in two instances how the screen writer went about his job. Take, for example, the movies *Edge of Darkness* and *Action in the North Atlantic*. Here are two pictures that have been seen by many millions of people and will be seen by many millions more. The screen writers were aware of this and therefore closely studied the original material they were given from which to prepare their screen plays. In the case of *Edge of Darkness* it was a novel by William Wood; in the case of *Action in the North Atlantic* it was a story (later published as a novel by the author, Guy Gilpatric).

What did Robert Rossen, who wrote *Edge of Darkness* for the screen, find in the novel? In the first place, although the general story was one of Norwegian resistance against the Nazis, the central human story was concerned with a love affair between a Norwegian girl and a Nazi soldier! Obviously this tended to vitiate the whole struggle against the Nazis, just as so many stories during and after the Civil War had northern heroes in love with southern heroines or vice versa, with the same result—that of vitiating the whole point of the struggle. For if the war is just something that fate brought about to complicate the lives of lovers, why bother to take the war very seriously except to scold it for not having better taste than to interfere with romance? And it is Hollywood that is always accused of saying there isn't anything in the world but love! At least in Mr. Rossen's screen play Norwegians are in love with Norwegians.

This is not to suggest that the author of the novel intentionally meant to weaken the reader's desire to participate in the struggle against the Nazis. Not at all. It was simply that he did not understand, as did Mr. Rossen, the consequences of using such a relationship. He was merely taking a situation that he thought would be provocative because it had always been so in the past in popular fiction. But where did it lead him? It led him to the point where in a sappy love scene in a cabin he has the girl say to her Nazi lover, "We have no reason to be unhappy. It's your birthday, and we're alone together in our own house. That's what we wanted, isn't it? The whole world outside is at war. Think how much worse it might be. You might be transferred to France, or even to Russia. . . ." Or, probably worse, to the point where, after the girl's father upbraids her for carrying the German's child, he has her mutter, "God, how he likes to talk. What a pig he is!" Evidently she has no shame, this Norwegian heroine. Love for a Nazi made her hate her father. Is this typical of Norwegian girls today?

Mr. Rossen clearly understood this was ridiculous. He was not interested in plain or fancy soul-searching. He was not trying to be provocative. He was trying to tell the truth about the struggle of Norwegians against Nazi brutality. He recognized he could not tell that story and also tell about such a girl. He chose therefore to change the central human story and instead of an abnormal love affair gave us a fine, healthy relationship between a Norwegian man and woman, who understand that their country's resistance comes first, who do not sneak off under any ill-fated sky to plight their troth and curse the real world. No, they work against the Germans together. That is the way Mr. Rossen tells his love story.

What is the result? The result is that audiences recognize there is no escaping the struggle today, that there is no personal life possible apart from the struggle. The whole tendency in the novel is either to contradict this fundamental truth or to bemoan the fact of its existence. For example, much is made of a German corporal, "a strange simple baker from Germany," who philosophizes, "There is such a thing as being in the war and yet outside it. We all have our own lives." Very interesting. In the meantime the army to which he belongs is destroying every decent living thing in its path. And more from this "strange, simple baker from Germany"—"The war is useless. None of us wants to fight. We are all the same." A nice sentiment, indeed. No doubt there are such people in the German army, but are they typical? Have the Nazi soldiers fought with such ferocity against their will?

This sort of attitude pervades the novel, so much so that although much of the physical action in the screen play is derived from the book, the effect on the screen is quite different. On the screen it is not a brooding crowd of Norwegians pitted against a brooding crowd of Germans. It is, rather, specific Norwegian individuals, whom we have come to know and understand, who fight specific Germans, not because resistance is something in the abstract but because these Norwegians as individuals hate these Germans

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for what they have done. Mr. Rossen recognizes a prime fact of our time: that the struggle against fascism is conducted not by vague, melancholy crowds but by individuals, motivated by the necessity to survive and stirred in their hearts and minds to heights of heroism.

THERE is an interesting similarity between the films *Edge of Darkness* and *Action in the North Atlantic*. Both give us insight into the people as individuals who are fighting this war. Physical action in itself has absolutely no meaning. What people do is important only insofar as we know and understand them. Yet, what did John Howard Lawson, who wrote *Action in the North Atlantic* for the screen, find in the original story? In the first place, a very important character, the captain of the ship, is presented as a man who hates all navies because he likes the sea and navies make the sea messy, filthy with oil. When his first ship is torpedoed he wants another so that he can help win the war, for the sooner we get the war over with, the sooner we'll get the navies off the sea! This may be quaint but it hardly gives a sense of a real human being. We further discover that another reason why he hates navies is that his daughter, who was being taught to sing, has gone and married a naval lieutenant, thereby blasting her career. Why, exactly, is not explained. At any rate, this type of motivation for character comes straight from the cliche-infested slick magazines, and Mr. Lawson found he could do without it. There is no trace of such claptrap in the screen play. And Hollywood is supposed to be the mother of claptrap!

Instead of real human beings we get from the original story a collection of seamen who are odd, to say the least. One of them has an overwhelming desire to be a movie actor, others quarrel incessantly about prize-fighting. The chief mate, Rossi, is presented as a man who gets drunk and is two-fisted. There is nothing wrong with that except that it's all we know about him. Since there were no characters, the plot-scheme became fantastic. All the climactic action was concerned with Nazi flyers who were picked up in a life raft, pretended to be Hollanders, and so were given the run of the ship, thereby enabling them to hit the radio operator over the head and send a message to a submarine which attacked the ship near Murmansk. And during the attack the Nazis poked a gun in the captain's ribs, bringing on a scuffle aboard ship, until finally the captain broke away to take the wheel and ram the submarine!

Mr. Lawson of course understood that all of this had nothing to do with life and therefore nothing to do with the war. He changed the characters and, inevitably, the plot-scheme. In this screen play he makes Rossi an individual, a man who has been to sea for many years and who—despite his drinking and his women—is sharply aware of what the war is about and what his job is. He is a fighter against the fascists and he knows it. He tells the girl he marries, "We been in Axis ports and seen what they do to people. . . . You can't sit around and hold hands when that's goin' on." And he consciously brings all his years of experience into the service of the fight. When, in the latter part of the picture, the ship is stalked and the captain has been wounded, Rossi takes over and it is through his resourcefulness in deceiving the submarine commander that the submarine is destroyed. This is a human being in action. There is a considerable difference.

THEN, too, in Mr. Lawson's screen play the seamen are all sharply drawn. Each individual acts as though the winning of the war depends on what he does or does not do. There is Chips Abrams, the Brooklyn carpenter, who goes back to sea in order to protect his small stake in America. He does not exist at all in the original story. Nor does O'Hara the bos'n, who tells Pulaski, the boy in the hiring hall who doesn't want to ship again, that the only uniform a seaman has is his union button and if he takes a shore job he has no right to that button. "Nobody's gonna wear it that ain't got what it takes," he says as he tears the button off Pulaski. Here for the first time in American literature the union button is presented as a symbol of patriotism!

These men we understand and we watch them with sympathy and excitement because they know what they are about. They have conscious will. They choose to be on the sea. It is not fate that makes them want to get the supplies through to Murmansk. It is they themselves who decide it has to be done and that they are the men to do it. The result is that when the ship starts for Murmansk we are vitally interested in seeing that it gets through, because we know these men and we know how much it means to them to do their job. That is what makes for the strength and power of *Action in the North Atlantic*—the people—and that is where Mr. Lawson has made his profound contribution. Without it, we might watch the physical action with a certain interest but we would never be involved in it, in any deep sense, nor would we come away from the theater, as millions already have done, with a high sense of pride in our fellow Americans and a sure belief in the rightness of our cause and the inevitability of our victory.

SO THOSE authors who are still in bed can get up now, because the screen writers in Hollywood will not destroy their work—they may even do it some good. *Edge of Darkness* and *Action in the North Atlantic* are only two examples of Hollywood's growing maturity and responsibility. There are others. And as time goes on there will be many more.

PAUL TRIVERS.

Bos'n O'Hara tears off Pulaski's union button in "Action in the North Atlantic." "Nobody's gonna wear it who ain't got what it takes."

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WHY COMMIT SUICIDE?

Not long ago Paul Robeson spoke of entire peoples committing suicide. He mentioned France, of course, where individuals and classes put their faith in legends that sounded reasonable but were merely a facade to cover interests that were inimical to national independence. Collective security was rejected for a Maginot Line that was more than a military structure. It was also an effort to avoid a people's movement which would bring liberating and victorious forces into play, as failure to open a genuine full scale second front is an effort to delay the liberating consequences of a people's war. And just as the Maginot Line was a part of that which led to suicide for France—and think how ridiculous such a statement would have seemed before 1940—so can failure to open a real second front lead to suicide for the United States.

For if a full-fledged front is not opened it will be as certain as gravity that the United States as we know it now will be a thing of the past. It is unfortunate that the incredulity of mankind is of such fiber that it can be dissipated only by disaster. Two and two are four, people said in France, but it did not seem to be true until France was no more. Just as many Frenchmen could not understand that the Maginot Line was more than the affair of military experts, so there are Americans who cannot see that a full scale second front is not only the key to the military situation but the key to whether we have a reactionary United States or continue on the path of democracy. And the penalty for unrealistic thinking, the punishment for belief in legends in this modern age is death—death as a nation and death to millions of individuals. France and Czechoslovakia, Norway and Denmark, Yugoslavia and Greece give grim documentation to this statement. Let's not offer the United States as further proof. Let's quit believing in bunk. Bunk is precious to many a soul which withers under reality but is it precious enough to risk suicide?

It is a queer fact, too, that bunk sounds more real to many people than hard fact. The meeching, half-witted abdication, "It's an affair for military experts so we can't speak in this moment of peril," seems more true to many than the fact that if we don't open a real second front a negotiated peace is almost inevitable. The bunk that such a front is purely for the benefit of the Soviet Union intrigues those who can't realize that a negotiated peace will so strengthen reaction here that it will be tantamount to an American fascism. Those whose limited comprehension poses the question as one concerning soldiers only, evidently can't understand that an American fascism, which will develop if reactionaries come to terms with Hitler or any of his ersatz substitutes, will murder and imprison anyone and everyone who ever had an idea. *Your stake in the second front is your life; no more and no less.*

To many the interconnection of events is an esoteric mystery which they would prefer to blink or dismiss as Sunday supplement nonsense. The fact that the poll tax, which prohibits 10,000,000 Americans from voting because they are poor, is killing thousands of people in France—this fact is too much for the blinkers to comprehend without a blueprint. Even when they see Tom Connallys, Coxes, Smiths, and Reynolds', even when they see the one decent force in the State Department kicked out because of the poll tax and 1944, it is difficult for them to understand that the poll tax is threatening the independence of the United States. The neat, little mind with its neat, little compartments is not a mind at all. It's simply a reflex for escape.

It's too late to deal in bunk. It's too late to think first we'll take care of the elections and then we'll go back to the war. It's too late to accept the nonsense that we will not have a second front until we are ready militarily, with the clear implication that we are not ready militarily. Or is it the part of good taste and patriotism to pretend that we cannot remember that Churchill and Roosevelt promised a second front in 1942 and that they would not have promised one unless we had been militarily prepared then? Shall we pretend we do not know that we have more ships, more munitions, more production, more men now than we did when a solemn statement was put out promising a second front in 1942?

I THINK such pretense is dangerous when every child knows that the reason we haven't a second front is because the consequences of victory appall us. Every child knows that we have enough shipping, enough production, enough men, enough of everything save faith in the democratic process and the right of people to choose their own government. Every child knows that such gentry as Berle, Long, Hearst, Patterson, Reynolds, Brooks, and their counterparts in England, have had a certain effect and every child knows what that effect has been. A man cannot be against the Soviet Union to such a degree that every newspaper in Washington knows his position and then expect to make everything nice and beautiful by saying he is not against it. That's kid stuff.

It is a fact that when we press for a second front we do not press primarily for a military move but for our own safety and happiness—and that applies to virtually all Americans. It is a fact, too, that we are responsible for the failure to open a second front. The failure cannot be lodged at the door of Roosevelt and Churchill. Responsibility rests on the American and British people. It rests on those newspapers whose editors coyly intimate that they cannot understand the situation upon which the safety of their country depends because it is a military question. It rests on labor, which has not fully understood that in moving for a second front it is merely acting for its own survival. It rests on all of us who have thought the question was an academic newspaper debate animated chiefly by those lacking the good taste of silence and the knowledge of their betters. It rests on those who prefer their dainty, well-bred misconceptions to the hard, ugly truth of survival. It rests on the type which prefers to praise Blum—whose murder of the Spanish republic precipitated the war—than to join the fight for that move which is the core of the world situation.

TEN meetings of 100,000 each could get a second front and save the world. If American and British labor spoke with the intensity required by the situation we would have a second front. If the *Herald Tribune* and the London *Times* spoke with the eloquence and patriotism demanded by events a second front would be a certainty instead of an ultimate possibility. It is too late for bunk. It is too late for pretense. It is too late for prejudice. It is too late for blindness. It is too late to be dainty, well-bred, and dilettantish. Unless we wish to follow some variation of the path of France to national suicide we should all speak up. For the second front does not depend on Churchill and Roosevelt. It depends on us.

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CHALLENGE TO THE POETS

Edwin G. Burrows and Samuel Sillen discuss the difficulties facing our poetry writers in the world of today. Some different ideas about form, content, audiences.

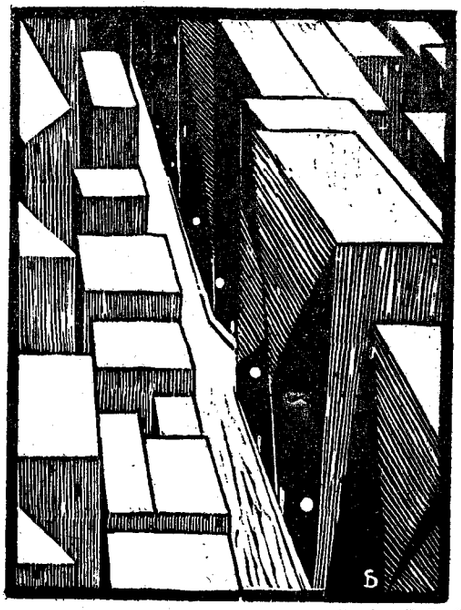
The following discussion by Edwin G. Burrows and Samuel Sillen deals with a neglected but distinctly important phase of the cultural front in the present people's struggle. As will be seen, neither Mr. Burrows nor Mr. Sillen has attempted to put forth a full and definitive statement of the poets' problems and how to solve them. Rather they have offered a broad statement of those problems, with some provocative, general proposals of solution. In short, their statements are really intended to initiate a discussion, in which we warmly invite both poets and non-poets to participate.

Mr. Burrows will be remembered by regular readers of NM as the winner of the magazine's Jefferson Anniversary Poetry Contest.—The Editors.

WHERE are our poets? Why, in times like these when we need them most, do they speak to us in words that are "pedantic and obscure"? These simple questions arising from the broad masses of the people are a challenge to the present generation of writers. The answers are not simple. The way out is not a straight and narrow path.

The obscurantism which has affected much of modern poetry is part real and part mythical. Obscurantism in form is often the direct result of empty, confused, or reactionary content. Pretty words and complex phrases often cover the hollow thought within. Plain speaking in poetry has usually disappeared when the poet has lost contact with reality, with the common desires and feeling of his fellow men, and when he no longer cares who or how many read what he writes. He wishes to be understood only by himself, and his isolation leads to private rather than public speech. However, complexity does not always cover isolationism or reaction. Nor does simplicity stamp its author as progressive. Some of the simplest, most direct poetry in our language has been written by T. S. Eliot and W. B. Yeats, whose philosophies are anything but progressive. Others have longed above all else to reach a broad, democratic audience but have struggled hopelessly with new forms and experimentation. Hart Crane was one. His spiritual counterpart in the Soviet Union was Essenin.

In fiction, proletarian literature is coming of age. Alexei Tolstoy hails the maturing of ideals of "socialist realism" in the USSR. We are approaching a similar goal in this country, though we cannot call our realism socialist. Poetry, let alone anything we might call "proletarian poetry," seems to have made no such advances. Faced with the stern realities of a war, the poets of our country, who for the most part have long been separated from the basic political and spiritual currents of our time, have retreated into their shells. A new audience clamors for their services and the poets are at a loss to satisfy them. The audiences themselves are partly at fault, for their demands are often confused and irresponsible. Sentimental magazine verse is the only poetry that the majority of American citizens have ever read. Those who can remember that far back regard the classical poets with loathing and horror because of the way they were taught in school. This lack of education in poetry is criminal and has had devastating effects upon American readers. Such readers become impatient with poetry that is not as loose and rambling and barren as the most ordinary prose or full of pretty cliches and jingling rhymes. Unfortunately, many well meaning progressives assume because of this that the way to reach the people, to join poet with audience, is to inject revolutionary content into the old inferior forms. But this new wine in old bottles is a poor excuse for a drink. To put it another way: No matter who you are, you are not going to sell brotherhood or victory or socialism in Edgar A. Guest's underclothes.



Stanley DeGraff

WHAT is to be done? How reconcile the attitude of the majority of people toward poetry with the attitude of the poet who has spurned the commercialism of the press? How bring together the tired housewife who is content to relax in front of her radio while some announcer recites pathetic homilies in a low belching voice to the accompaniment of a mooing organ, and the sincere poet who loves Chaucer and believes that his style may be imitated with success? (And modern poetry is no more complex or obscure than Chaucer and Shakespeare.)

First, the modern poet cannot ignore literary history. Form is not immediately determined by content. New content will not dictate a fresh form automatically. Form as well as thought has had its growth and development. There are many today (I am one of them) who believe that a new synthesis must be made of old forms and new discoveries in order that the progressive poetry of the future may have the best possible expression. We need not imitate the sterility in content of earlier poets to learn from them in the matter of form. The Imagists taught us that rhyme was not the be-all and end-all of poetry. They also demonstrated that the formlessness of free verse was not the best vehicle for strong ideas and forceful statements. The Surrealists taught us that language has many unexplored facets and that hitherto undreamed of associations might produce new and informative commentary upon the old reality. The Surrealists also taught us, without meaning to, that intellectualism per se and unfettered, undirected experimentation lead only to the freedom of the padded cell. The modern poet cannot set aside the innovations of his predecessors.

Second, the modern poet must actively seek to woo back his potential audience from the toils of commercial art and pure ignorance. He must point out that to condemn modern poetry because it is not just like Shelley or Longfellow is on a par with Hitler's purge of twentieth century art as "degenerate." He must work to

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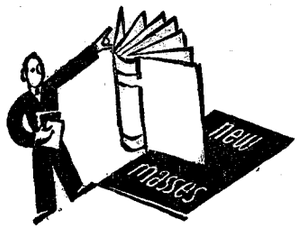

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achieve a new synthesis of form which best expresses his progressive content. He may become impatient with the passivity of his audience and try to startle them with the barbaric yawp of a Whitman or the soap-box fervor of a Mayakovsky. Or he may in a quiet and persuasive manner, in ordered tempo and conventional rhymes but with heightened language and evocative images, accomplish the same purpose. Sharpness of thought, preciseness of diction, timeliness, the appeal of new words and slang, all may be incorporated without destroying the fundamental qualities of good poetry as they have been recognized since the birth of our language.

Third, the modern poet can and must employ a dozen methods to make his poetry more palatable to his audience. He must knock and knock again at the doors of the big magazines and radio stations. The task is not as hopeless as it would seem at first. More and more good poetic dramas are being produced on the air. Not enough by far, but many more than before. The play, because of its immediate dramatic appeal whether on the stage or radio, is an excellent subterfuge, unfortunately necessary, to get an audience to accept good poetry. The modern poet must seek out his audience personally. If he is not a good reader himself he should have someone else read his work at parties, union meetings, gatherings of all kinds. Those who will not read will often listen.

Fourth and last, the poet as an individual cannot do the whole job himself. Such magazines as NEW MASSES must do yeoman service in bringing the work of modern writers to the attention of a broad audience. Discussion must be stimulated. Recently, excellent controversies have raged over the merits of various novels and films. Why has nothing similar taken place on the subject of poetry? Why was not one voice raised (and the comment published) in criticism of the Jefferson contest poems? I am not trying to knife myself in the back, but merely to stimulate discussion of this very absorbing and, I believe, very important problem.

EDWIN G. BURROWS.

MR. SILLEN COMMENTS

IN DEALING with the predicament of modern poetry, Edwin G. Burrows wisely avoids an over-simplified approach. Too often in discussions of this sort one hears the poet denounce the reader or the reader denounce the poet. Since the basic problem is to strengthen communication between the two, such scolding merely worsens a bad situation; it adds to the alienation of poet and reader. For those who take the art of poetry seriously and are therefore disturbed to see it become one of the culturally depressed areas in America, it is not enough to make unilateral accusations against either the poets' "obscurity" or the readers' "philistinism."

I think Burrows is altogether right in stressing the futility of borrowing Edgar A. Guest's popular techniques and transfusing them with a new content. The diluted doggerel of Guest is a perfect vehicle for mental vacuity and moral obtuseness; intelligence cannot be pressed into that mold without draining off all the juice. The progressive poet who emulates Guest in the interest of reaching a wider audience may achieve his aim; but he achieves it as a second laureate of social lethargy and not as a mature person. Form and content in poetry cannot be separated out like the white and yolk of an egg.

But this leads me to question what Burrows has to say about a synthesis of old forms and new discoveries. It is true, as he emphasizes, that new content will not dictate a fresh form automatically. It is also true that it would be stupid to reject past forms merely because they were associated with a content different from that which the poet seeks to express today. We learn gladly from the past. As Alexei Tolstoy recently said, the categorical denial of literary heritage turns the concept of remaking the world into "a shrill and menacing demagogy."

We are therefore agreed on rejecting two alternatives. The progressive poet cannot pour new wine into Edgar A. Guest's leaky bottles. Nor can he uncritically turn his back on poetic craftsmen of the past on the ground that they were "aristocrats" or "bourgeois."

The real question is: Which techniques and traditions are most usable for the progressive poet's intentions? Which of the "old forms" can fruitfully be synthesized with our "new discoveries"? This question has vital bearing on the problem raised by Burrows.

Ten years ago a number of left wing poets agreed on rejecting T. S. Eliot's content and on assimilating his form. They argued that we must use everything of value in the past. They even quoted Lenin to that effect. But they found themselves in a painful contradiction. Eliot himself had borrowed from the seventeenth century English metaphysical poets and the nineteenth century French symbolists; he had no similar sense of contradiction. The pattern and tone of his ideas resembled those of his "ancestors." But by following Eliot the left wing assimilators began not with an advantage but a handicap. What they had to say was in conflict with their tools.

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Before long some of them gave up their tools, while others forgot what they had started out to say.

I CAN'T help feeling that Burrows, in telling the poet that he cannot ignore literary history—which is of course true—tends to perpetuate a dangerous illusion of several poets I have recently read. He urges that we take over the good things in Surrealism, reject the bad. I would agree with him if he means that the social poet might learn to distinguish the non-Surrealist elements in a poem by a Surrealist. But insofar as the principles of Surrealism operate, I believe that the poet will constantly be fighting against himself, as the proletarian-Eliots were forced to do, often with disastrous results.

In a recent issue of *Poetry*, David Daiches cites these lines as an example of the "compelling obscurity" of one side of Dylan Thomas' genius:

Altarwise by owl-light in the halfway-house
The gentleman lay graveward with his furies;
Abaddon in the hang-nail cracked from Adam,
And, from his fork, a dog among the fairies,
The atlas-eater with a jaw for news,
Bit out the mandrake with tomorrow's scream. . . .

I may be singularly dense, but I cannot see how such lines form the assimilable basis for progressive poetry. I would incline to second William Rose Benet's observation, in another context, that "These nosegays of contorted words and queer imagery are nice playthings for new Bunthornes; they decorate a great deal of thoroughly bad writing and fool the critics to the top of their bent."

The danger is not too much innovation, but fear of innovation. I have for a long time felt that left wing poets should dare, like Whitman or Mayakovsky, to break loose from the preconceptions of the dominant cliques and coteries in verse. When you read enough of the "experimentalists" you begin to see how terribly conventional they really are. The poetic diction of so many of the moderns is as frozen as the poetic diction of the eighteenth century, without even the merit of clarity. The techniques of obscurity can be as artificial as Guest's rhyme scheme.

Burrows' point about the lack of controversy over poetry is well taken. A few years ago one could always start a lively discussion by asking: "Is Poetry Dead?" Today the situation is more serious. Nobody bothers even to ask the question. It is fairly universally assumed that the corpse has been decently interred.

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But poetry is far from dead when a gifted young writer like Burrows complains that nobody criticized his Jefferson contest poem. I hope that some of the progressive poets will pitch into the discussion that he has started. As for the critics, M. J. Tambimuttu, founder of a London poetry magazine, has said the last word: "The critic is not our concern. Let him get squashed under his own microscope."

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Our Japanese Enemy

MY WAR WITH JAPAN, *by Carroll Alcott. Henry Holt. $3.*
JAPAN'S MILITARY MASTERS, *by Hillis Lory. Viking. $2.50.*

MR. ALCOTT, a newspaperman and broadcaster from Shanghai, has written an interesting story of his own war against the Japanese. It is full of horror, rape, kidnapping, intrigue, and robbery committed by the Japanese in China. Some of these crimes were committed by the "ronins," whom the author calls "dirty job men," who acted on their own initiative and often with the blessings of the Japanese military and civil authorities. The book reads like a detective story and is a record of what Mr. Alcott had witnessed from an unusually close point of observation. Even if one is inclined to accept parts of the book with a grain of salt, the total picture still remains terrifying. No excuses, no explanations can erase every normal person's revulsion and indignation toward the perpetrators of those crimes.

Mr. Alcott acts exclusively as prosecutor, leaving others to search for motives and historical perspective. Consequently the book cannot be recommended as an adequate source of information about Japan. But he is quite right when he warns us not to overestimate the Japanese, a tendency observable among many Americans after the tragedy of Pearl Harbor. He admits that the Japanese are stubborn soldiers but at the same time he reminds us that under certain conditions the Japanese will run. He also realizes the danger arising from certain groups who plan to compromise with what they call the "good" Japanese in order to avoid any revolutionary changes that may be forced by the Japanese people.

MR. LORY'S *Japan's Military Masters* is less a book about the Japanese army itself and more of an attempt at analyzing the place of the army in Japanese life. The author is inclined to depict the army as omnipotent and overstresses the martial qualifications of the Japanese soldier. It is true that it is hard to take the Japanese alive but it is wrong to assert, as Mr. Lory does, that "Japan has never known defeat." For the truth is that they have suffered serious setbacks in China, on the Soviet borders, and at the hands of American fighters.

Though Mr. Lory quotes Japanese generals, his knowledge of the Japanese army is limited indeed. He even quotes as a source the book by the Frenchman, Ballet. The book was good when it was published some thirty years ago but can hardly be considered of value today. And it is decidedly misleading to assert that the Japanese army is democratic and monolithic. The army is shot through with class distinctions and class privileges. And how monolithic is an army when one group of officers engineer assassinations of another group? To get excited about the spiritual training of the Japanese army after the rape and looting of Nanking as well as other Chinese cities is strange indeed.

It is a fact that the prestige and popularity of the armed forces has been on the decline for years, especially after the last world war. Adventures in Manchuria and in China hardly inspired the Japanese people with love for those whom they consider to be the cause of their suffering and misery. And this discontent has expressed itself in the harboring of "dangerous thoughts" by the population.

It is true that the Japanese army is an important factor in the Japanese community, but it is only part of the truth to ascribe to the army all of Japan's ills. That conception supports the erroneous idea that the mere ouster of the military men from the government and other positions will miraculously transform Japan into a liberal democracy. It may be one of the first steps towards achieving such a transformation but it is certainly not the only step. The Japanese army is a formidable foe but certainly not invincible. Unfortunately that is the impression conveyed in Mr. Lory's book.

VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF.

Experiments in Food

THE SCIENCE OF NUTRITION, *by Henry C. Sherman. Columbia University Press. $2.75.*

PROFESSOR SHERMAN, Mitchill professor of chemistry at Columbia University and at present chief of the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics in the Department of Agriculture, has written a sound and thorough exposition of the basic and newest principles of nutrition. Although not a popularization of the subject, it is a book directed to nutritionists, social workers, teachers, and the lay reader who might have some scientific curiosity. Except for peculiar economic theories on how the purchases of the well-to-do brought down the prices of milk, eggs, and citrus fruits for the benefit of the poor, it is compact with the wisdom and knowledge gained from the tremendous arsenal of

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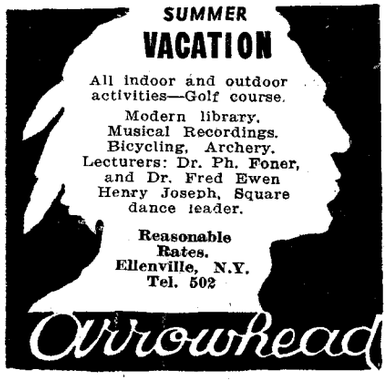

facts found in the scientific and controlled experiments of McCollum, Rose, Benedict, the author, and many others.

Mr. Sherman is an honest man and willing to learn. For he has improved some of his cockeyed economic theories to the extent that he writes the following: "Sometimes subsidized consumption is opposed as something that the government should not engage in because it is too paternalistic or tends to pauperize the people. Notwithstanding an original predilection toward this political principle, the present writer believes that whatever validity it may have had, it is now far outweighed by the changed aspect of American opportunity and the new knowledge of the very great influence of enough of the right kind of food upon individual development and public health. While previously it was the opinion of some individuals, it is now objective knowledge that for a large percentage of our population the educational opportunity cannot be effective without some provision for adequate nutrition. A reasonably good nutritional status is just as necessary as is a public school to give the child a fair start that the American ideal demands."

The Science of Nutrition retells much that is already known about vitamins, deficiency diseases, and the basic guides in the determination of proper balanced diets of meats, milk, and fresh vegetables. But there is also much that is new and recent—for example, the scientific evidence for the enrichment of bread. Previously, white patent flour was used in making bread. This flour kept well in storage because the milling and bleaching treatments had removed even the nutrients that could keep the lowest forms of life alive. Consequently, the Department of Agriculture set certain standards for the enrichment of the white loaf, which call for the addition of vitamins and iron. This partially restores the value of the grain.

The author's axe falls heavily on that sterling comic strip character, Popeye. The professor has robbed the sailor of his source of strength. Spinach is no longer fashion, and the professor writes, "Green and yellow vegetables as a group are important for their contribution to the vitamin A value of the diet; but science does not specifically seek the sanctification of spinach. In fact spinach is now known to be an unfortunate choice among the green-leaf vegetables because it contains a large amount of oxalic acid, which is not a desirable substance for human consumption in any case and which renders practically unavailable and useless the calcium found in spinach and chard." Dr. Sherman points out that "nutritional improvement, even of diet deemed adequate to current standards, can enhance the mental as well as the physical development. With better feeding there is quicker learning of industrial processes and a higher

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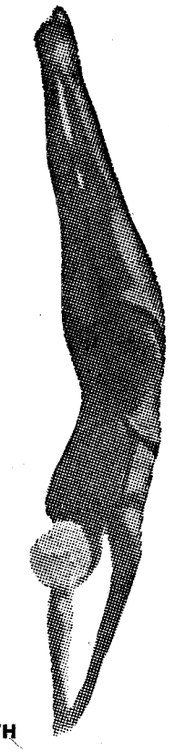

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JAMES KNIGHT.

Italy and Russia

(*Continued from page* 12)

In this connection, while applauding the first landing in force of Allied soldiers on the Continent of Europe in three years and wishing them all the success in the world, one is compelled to regard the crossing of the Straits of Messina by General Montgomery's Eighth British Army and the Canadians as a preliminary, nay, diversionary, operation which must be followed by a landing in a sector which offers greater strategic possibilities. It is to be hoped that the US Fifth and Seventh Armies (Generals Clark and Patton) which have not entered the fray yet (as I write) are being groomed for such a landing. The latter should take place in a spot where there is a chance of fighting the real enemy—i.e. the Germans—on a considerable scale before months have passed. Remember that the distance between Reggio Calabria and the Brenner Pass is approximately 700 miles of rough country. The Allies have landed at the tip of a 100-mile-long "pier," which contains no strategic objectives at all, while the latter are all back of the "waterfront" which is the line of the Po.

In order to rob the Germans of the advantages of shortening their front (forced upon them as it is) and in order to gain something more important than the substitution of AMG for Badoglio, it is imperative to land in a place where Allied troops can really fight more than a couple of German divisions, and do it NOW.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

"WATCH ON THE RHINE"

The film from Lillian Hellman's memorable stage play. "Ideals and aspirations of the best people of our time." Reviewed by Daniel Prentiss.

Now that Warner Brothers' *Watch on the Rhine* has been released, I want most of all to get down on paper my gratitude to every last soul who contributed to the making of the film.

First, to the author, Lillian Hellman, who has given artistic expression to the ideals and aspirations of the best people of our time—the fighters in the ranks of anti-fascism. You will look far and wide in American films for similar expression, at once as penetrating and as moving. One must go back to the Soviet film *Professor Mamlock* for its equal. Just as in Hellman's *The Little Foxes*, Gorky's *Egor Bulachev* is artistic predecessor.

The heart of loyalist Spain beats strong in *Watch on the Rhine*. It is one of the film's chief merits that it makes payment on humanity's long-standing debt to the heroes of the Spanish republic. What can one say as the words of the German International Brigaders come to us from the screen? Perhaps only, "At long last. Brave defenders, loyal sons, your will shall be done." Another outstanding quality of the picture is the enlightened internationalism of Hellman and her collaborators (Dashiel Hammett authored the screenplay). Consider the following passage, a conversation between Kurt Mueller, hero of the play, brilliantly played by Paul Lukas, and a young Italian he happens to meet up with near the beginning of the film:

Italian: You are German?

Kurt: Yes.

Italian: What side do you fight on in Spain?

Kurt: I fought with the Army of the Republic. I am not a Nazi or a fascist.

Italian: I'm a big fool. I beg your pardon. You do forgive me, please. I might have known which side a man like you would be on. It used to make me feel good that Italians and Germans went to fight against the fascists in Spain. Kinda showed people that all Germans and Italians weren't . . . ain't there some chance the German people themselves will kick Hitler out? You read about the men in underground organizations. Is that talk?

Kurt: No. It isn't talk. These men, in what you call underground organizations, work most hard and in great danger. . . .

How wonderfully far removed are these words from the rantings of a Vansittart against the whole German people. In this film one may hear the voice of the Free German Committee. We believe the movie can make it more difficult for the Vansittarts to breathe. Those who believe it naive to assign such an important role to a movie simply do not reckon with the terrific persuasiveness of Hellman's work. Surer dramaturgy, shrewder characterization, firmer grasp on audience emotions are not to found in another American playwright. One instance: only a small one, it's true, but characteristic. As the film opens we see Kurt Mueller, worker in the German underground. He is taking his family across the Mexican border into the United States. As they are about to submit their visas, Kurt whispers, "Of the utmost importance. Please do not seem nervous." A simple touch but one that immediately sets the atmosphere within which this great optimistic tragedy is played out. We know at once we are looking at the hunted people of the earth who are yet more mighty than the hunters.

I cannot speak too highly of the talent that Warner Brothers assembled. Nor can I praise too much the cast and technical crew, from director Herman Shumlin to the twentieth grip on the set. This is one of those rare occasions when the credits that precede a film proper are a roll of honor. Paul Lukas' performance is of the stuff from which legends are formed. Bette Davis, his able companion; Lucille Watson, Beulah Bondi, George Coulouris, the young actors who play the three Mueller children, Geraldine Fitzgerald—all praiseworthy. And all, it seemed to this reviewer, were conscious that they were associated in a great enterprise.

It is good to note that the majority of metropolitan reviewers saw eye to eye with us in their estimate of the film. Miss Kate Cameron, of the New York *Daily News*, however, provided a noteworthy exception. Her approach deserves some comment. Naturally, she was unable to damn the film completely and retain any standing among her confreres. Hence the three star rating. "But things have changed," she says. "Our concern now is with beating the enemy in battle and by military strategy, rather than by propaganda. . . . We cannot afford to expend our feelings on the causes that led to our present predicament. . . . That has

Paul Lukas, Bette Davis, and George Coulouris. From "Watch on the Rhine."

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become an old story, one that has been more than twice-told. . . ." Miss Cameron runs true to form. This is exactly the stunt she pulled with Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* and we assure her she'll have as little success this time.

THE unwelcome sight of *For Whom the Bells Toll* on Broadway reminds us that Ernest Hemingway once collaborated on a genuinely anti-fascist pro-loyalist film —Joris Ivens' *Spanish Earth*. (Incidentally, among the more prominent backers of the Ivens film were Herman Shumlin and Lillian Hellman.)

In addition to *Spanish Earth*, the American documentary movement produced two other films on Spain of lasting worth, *Heart of Spain* and *Return To Life*, the latter two the work of Frontier Films. To our knowledge, the documentary movement of no other countries, the Soviet Union excepted, did as much. The films have lost none of their appositeness. If anything (Kate Cameron notwithstanding), time has deepened their values. I may be pardoned for expressing a slight preference for *Return To Life*, for it unmeritedly received fewer performances than either of the other two. All three films are being distributed by Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway. We welcome the chance which they offer us to deepen our understanding of the fundamental issues in the Spanish struggle, and their meaning for today.

ALL things considered, *The Fallen Sparrow*, based on the novel by Dorothy B. Hughes, boasting good performances by John Garfield and his coworkers, better-than-average direction in the latest mystery manner by Richard Wallace, makes good movie fare. The film suffers from the defects of the novel which, briefly, were an insistence on suspense for suspense's sake, and treatment of the Spanish loyalist cause in too tangential a manner. But the author's heart, and the film's, for that matter, are very much in the right place.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

Gropper Exhibit

THE exhibition at the new ACA Gallery, 63 East 57th Street, of the series of powerful drawings by Gropper, inspired by accounts of Nazi atrocities against the Jews, will open Tuesday, September 14, with a reception from 4 to 7 PM by *New Currents*, the Jewish monthly in which the drawings were first reproduced. Professor Michoels and Lt. Col. Itzik Feffer, the delegation from the Soviet Union now in this country, will be presented with a number of especially prepared folios of the drawings as gifts to Soviet leaders and institutions.

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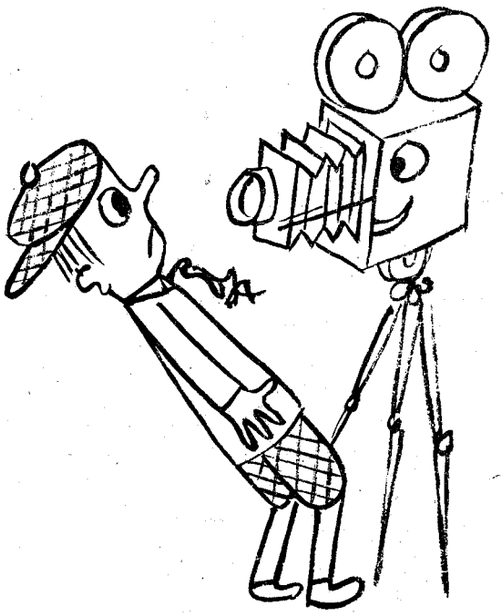

HOLLYWOOD TURNS THE CAMERA ON ITSELF

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How many of you, watching the silver screen, have wanted to know more about the place where movies are made? Not the sort of stuff you find in the magazines on beauty-parlor tables. Not quite like anything you've read before about America's movie capital. And there's been plenty written about Hollywood—plenty that has served only to preserve the "mystery" or "glamour" of the place. This is not what NEW MASSES plans to do.

What we have arranged for is regular Hollywood coverage, in the form of articles that will tell you the truth—articles from men and women in Hollywood who know the movie industry, know its problems, its achievements, its potentialities. They will tell you how Hollywood has geared itself to the war effort. They will show you the "makings" of a film, from script to final production. They will let you know what goes on in the way of ideas, obstacles, and aims. They will discuss personalities whose names are familiar to you.

We publish the first such article this week, by Paul Trivers, on page 20. More will follow shortly. Then, there is our monthly "Hollywood Letter" by N. A. Daniels, the first of which appeared in last week's issue.

You who go to the movies—and who doesn't?—will not want to miss the regular Hollywood coverage. If you send in your subscription now, you will be sure of getting all the articles. (A subscription form may be found on page 25.)

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